

RAILWAY
CORRESPONDENCE
N. S. DELEGATION
HALIFAX QUEBEC
AND PORTLAND
RAILROADS

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Railway Correspondence.
NOVA-SCOTIA DELEGATION.
DESPATCHES
Laid before the Legislature in the Session of 1851,
on the subject of the
HALIFAX, QUEBEC, AND PORTLAND
RAILROADS.

Published by Authority.

HALIFAX, N. S.
1851.

Railway Despatches.

The Legislative Council to Sir John Harvey.

To His Excellency Lieutenant General SIR JOHN HARVEY, Knight Commander of the Most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over Her Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

The Address of the Legislative Council.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

The Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, have had under their consideration the subject of the proposed Railroad between Quebec and Halifax, and have passed the accompanying Resolution :

"Resolved that an address be presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor requesting him again to call the attention of her Majesty's Government to the subject of the proposed Railroad from Halifax to Quebec, and to urge the great importance of that undertaking to the welfare and prosperity of the Province, and to use all the Constitutional means in his power to expedite its commencement." To which they pray Your Excellency's favorable consideration.

Wednesday, March 27, 1850.

Sir John Harvey to Earl Grey.

No. 168.

Government House, Halifax, May 2, 1850.

MY LORD—

I have the honor to enclose, for Your Lordship's consideration, a Resolution adopted by the Legislative Council of this Province on the subject of the projected Railroad from Halifax to Quebec. The people of this Province are very anxious that some great public work should be immediately commenced, and I beg to draw Your Lordship's attention to the Law passed on the 31st March, 1849, enacting that it should be lawful for Her Majesty to cause Five Commissioners to be appointed for establishing and constructing such Railroad from Halifax to the boundary line of New Brunswick, to meet a Railroad from Lower Canada through the Province of New Brunswick; and also giving power to the Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council, to vest in her Majesty ten miles of the Crown Land on each side of the line, for the benefit

of the Railroad, and to raise funds for the construction thereof; and lastly, that the Railroad should be under such rules and regulations as shall be established by Her Majesty's Government. A pledge has likewise been given for the sum of Twenty Thousand Pounds, sterling, to pay the interest on the Capital to be expended for the accomplishment of this Work.

The opinion is very strongly entertained here, my Lord, that the construction of this Railroad would be one of the most effectual means of defending these possessions of Her Majesty, and would assist in preserving the connection with each other, and the Mother Country, and would develop the resources, invigorate Trade and Commerce, and promote the permanent prosperity and happiness of her Majesty's subjects in these portions of the Realm.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. HARVEY.

The Right Hon. EARL GREY, &c. &c. &c.

Earl Grey to Sir John Harvey

No. 224.

Downing Street, 19th June, 1850.

SIR—

I have to acknowledge your despatch, No. 168, of the 2d ultimo, enclosing a Resolution of the Legislative Council, that an Address be presented to yourself, requesting you again to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the subject of the proposed Railroad from Halifax to Quebec.

2d. Her Majesty's Government have not failed to give their best attention to a subject in which so deep an interest is taken by the inhabitants of Nova-Scotia; but I am bound to state that they are not prepared to submit to Parliament any measure for raising the funds necessary for its construction, considering the great amount and pressure of the exigencies which continue to weigh on the Imperial Treasury.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GREY.

Lieutenant Governor SIR JOHN HARVEY.

Sir John Harvey to Earl Grey.

No. 190.

Government House, 29th August, 1850.

MY LORD—

Your Lordship is aware, from the Correspondence which has passed between the North

American Governments and the Colonial Office, that for some time past a deep interest has been felt by the people of these Provinces in the promotion of Railways.

2. So long as hopes were entertained that Her Majesty's Government would aid in the construction of the Line between Halifax and Quebec, public attention was concentrated upon that. As the prospects of its accomplishment became less definite and assured, other projects either local or inter-colonial were discussed, and Resolutions or Laws, having relation to these were passed during the recent Sessions of most of the Colonial Legislatures.

3. The construction of the Electric Telegraph which now not only connects Halifax with the Chief Towns of New Brunswick and the State of Maine, but forms the most important link in the chain of communication between the old world and the new, and the success which has attended that appropriation of the public funds have attracted public attention to the practicability and importance of placing a Rail Road beside the Telegraph,

4. This would give to Nova-Scotia and New Brunswick a noble highway through their Territory—connect them by Railway with all the principal Cities of this Continent, and secure to the Port selected for the Eastern terminus, commercial advantages, with which no seaport within the Republic could ever successfully compete.

5. While these views were pressing upon the minds of the leading men in the Provinces, the subject was taken up in the State of Maine, and a Convention, to which the Colonists were invited, was called to meet at Portland on the 31st of July.

6 The proceedings of that Convention I have now the honor to enclose (No. 1.) together with the reports made by the Delegates who attended from Nova-Scotia, to the communities or committees by which they were severally appointed, (No. 2.)

7. On the return of those Delegates, the public mind in Nova-Scotia became very highly excited, particularly in Halifax, and those Countries through which the Road would pass.

8. Under these circumstances, my Government were required to deal with the question thus raised, and to decide whether they would stand aloof from this movement, and allow a great Highway, which in peace would be a thoroughfare of Nations, and in war might be of vast importance, to be constructed and controlled by Foreign Capitalists, or should at once grasp the enterprize, and by the aid of the public funds and credit, discharge, towards the Country, the highest and most legitimate functions of a vigorous Executive. The latter determination was arrived at, and the opportunity was afforded to declare their policy, at a public meeting held in the Metropolis on the 24th instant, the proceedings of which will be found reported in the papers transmitted by this mail.

9. This movement, which meets my entire approbation, has been received with great satisfaction by all parties. The address of the City Council, with my answer, (No. 3,) I have the honor to enclose.

10. The details of this measure have yet to be adjusted, and it may be necessary to send to England some Members of my Government to communicate more at large with Your Lordship in reference to them.

11. In the meantime, I should be glad to be informed whether, upon such pledges as have been regarded as satisfactory in other Colonies, being given, Her Majesty's Government would be disposed to aid Nova-Scotia with its guarantee of such funds as she may find it necessary to borrow in England, in order to construct this Road. These would not exceed £800,000 Sterling, and would probably be secured, not only on the general Revenues of the Province, but upon the road itself.

12. Such a guarantee would enable the Province to enter the market on the best terms, and effect a large saving in the accomplishment of the work.

13. The Revenue of Nova Scotia is about £80,000 Sterling—her debt but £87,802 Sterling, of which £47,892 is represented by Province Paper, on which no interest is paid.—The permanent and indispensable charges are about £40,000 Sterling, leaving about £40,000 Sterling of Surplus Revenue available for public improvements. The Revenue has increased £4400 Sterling within the present year—the increase on the whole will be probably £10,000 Sterling.

14. If therefore, as I anticipate, the Legislature sustains the policy of the Government, they will have the means at their disposal to pay the interest promptly on any loan they may require to effect.

15. I shall be very much gratified by an early communication of the decision of Her Majesty's Government on this point, and of the terms and nature of the securities required,

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. HARVEY.

The Right Honorable Earl Grey, &c. &c. &c.

Earl Grey to Sir John Harvey.

No. 232.

Downing Street, 21st September, 1850.

SIR—

In acknowledging your Despatch No. 190 of the 29th ultimo, on the subject of the projected line of Railway from Halifax to Portland in Maine, I have to express my entire approbation of the degree of support and encouragement given by yourself and the Provincial Administration to this important undertaking.

2. I regard the Work as one calculated to be of the highest service to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and instead of considering it as likely to endanger by competition the still more important scheme which has been

proposed for connecting Halifax and Quebec, I believe that it is likely to prepare the way for the execution of the latter, and that it will contribute to the same end, namely, that of rendering Halifax the great Port of Communication between the two Continents of Europe and America.

3. But while I am most anxious to promote the success of this enterprize, I regret that the same reasons which have hitherto prevented Her Majesty's Government from recommending to Parliament any measure for affording pecuniary assistance towards the construction of the Quebec Railway, will probably stand equally in the way of their advising the guarantee of a loan for the scheme now in contemplation.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GREY.

Lieut. Governor SIR JOHN HARVEY, &c. &c.

Sir John Harvey to Earl Grey,

Government House, Halifax,

October 25th, 1850.

MY LORD,—

The members of my Government, upon a full consideration of the contents of your Lordship's communication of the 21st ultimo, having deemed it to consist with what they owe to public feeling (which has been very unequivocally expressed throughout the province,) as well as to their own views to Her Majesty's Government, in as plain and forcible a manner as may be consistent with the deep respect with which all decisions by your Lordship have been and will at all times be received by them; they have accordingly resolved on delegating one of their body to proceed to England, in the hope that your Lordship will admit their Delegate to an audience, and will afford him every facility in bringing the views which he is charged to advocate, under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government which to your Lordship may seem fit.

Permit me, therefore, to present to your Lordship the Honorable Joseph Howe, a member of my Council, and a gentleman well qualified, in my judgement to afford to your Lordship and to Her Majesty's Government the fullest information and the most correct views of the state of public feeling in Nova Scotia.

The deep importance attached throughout the province to the subject of Mr. Howe's mission, will, I doubt not, plead my excuse from any deviation from existing regulations which may attend this mode of communication with your Lordship; and I do not doubt that on this, as on some other points, Mr. Howe's local information, experience, and sound judgement, will be found useful and acceptable.

It is Mr Howe's present intention (should circumstances not induce him to alter it) to return to Nova Scotia before the meeting of the Legislature, in the hope of enabling me to convey to that body, at their meeting, some

definite information as to the prospect of being able to obtain the necessary funds from London capitalists, either with or without the aid of Her Majesty's Government. As the latter alternative, however, would involve the difference of from 16,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* a year, in the amount of interest to be paid by the colony, I feel satisfied that your Lordship will be disposed to promote any well-considered measure by which so large a saving may be effected, without risk to the Imperial Government.

I have &c,

J. HARVEY.

(Signed)

The Right Hon. Earl Grey.

&c.

&c.

&c.

Hon. Joseph Howe to Earl Grey.

5, Sloane Street, November 25th, 1850.

MY LORD,—

Having, at the interview with which I was honoured on the 18th instant, received your Lordship's instructions to place before you, in official form, the arguments on which, as Representative from the Province of Nova Scotia, I base my application for the guarantee of the Imperial Government, in aid of the public works projected by the Government of that colony, I beg leave, with all respect, to call your Lordship's attention to the following statement and observations.

Regarding the period as rapidly approaching, if it has not actually arrived, when railroads must be laid down through her most advanced and prosperous counties, east and west, Nova Scotia is called to decide, with the experience of the world before her, upon the measures to be adopted to secure for her people, at the least expence, with the slightest risk, and in the shortest time, these great modern improvements. Her people have been accustomed to free roads; no toll bars exist in the Province. Her roads, made at the public expense, belong to the country, and are emphatically the Queen's highways. In the few instances where she has deviated from this policy, in respect to bridges or ferries, the cost and the inconveniences of monopoly have tested its value.

Railways are highroads of an improved construction. They are as essential to our advancement and prosperity now, as common roads were in the olden time. The service which the Government has performed for a hundred years in respect to the common roads, which probably measure 8,500 miles, we believe it to be capable of performing in regard to railways. The administration is content to assume the responsibility, and the people, including an immense majority of all political parties, are willing and anxious that they should.

If our Government had means sufficient to build railroads, and carry the people free, we believe that this would be sound policy. If tolls must be charged, we know that these will be more moderate and fair, if Government

regulate them by the cost of construction and management, than if monopolies are created, and speculators regulate the tolls only with reference to the dividends. If there be risk or loss, we are content to bear it. If the traffic of the country yields a profit, we would apply the surplus revenue to the opening of new lines, or to the reduction of the cost of transportation.

Were a railroad to be constructed in Nova Scotia, for the accommodation of internal traffic alone, we should perhaps decide to lay a line through our western counties first, these being the most populous and improved.

An inter-colonial railroad, in which the adjoining colonies feel an interest, offers more general advantages than a mere local line. Hence the interest felt in the Quebec Railroad, which would have drawn to Halifax much trade from the St. Lawrence, and opened up to colonization large tracts of wilderness lands, both in Canada and New Brunswick. This line requiring 5,000,000*l.* sterling to complete it, the united resources of the three provinces are inadequate to the work, without very liberal aid from the British Government; that aid having been refused, the project has been for the present reluctantly abandoned.

A railroad to Portland offers many advantages which one to Quebec does not. It will cost only about half as much. It must run, nearly all the way, through a comparatively improved country. It would connect Halifax with St. John (and by the river, with Fredericton) and the larger towns of New Brunswick; giving to all these, with the villages and agricultural settlements lying between them, most desirable facilities for internal traffic.

The Portland Railroad would secure to Nova Scotia the advantages which nature designed her to enjoy: connecting her with all the lines running through the American Continent and making Halifax a common terminus for them all. No American steamer, which did not touch at Halifax, could thenceforward compete, in priority of intelligence, and the rapid transit of passengers, with those which did.

From New York to Liverpool, the shortest sea-line measures 3,100 miles, that usually traversed is 3,300.

From Halifax to Galway is . . .	2,130
Dublin to Holyhead	63
	2,193
Holyhead to London	263
Dublin to the S.W.	
Coast of Ireland	120
Halifax to St. John's	266
St. John's to Waterville . . .	200
Waterville to New York 410	

Miles.

2,130

63

2,193

263

120

266

200

410

—

1,259

3,452

making the whole land and sea distance 159 miles more than the present sea passage. But

the sea voyage, by the one route, would be 1107 miles shorter than by the other.

To run these 1107 miles by steamboat, at 12 miles an hour, would require 92 hours; to run them by rail, at 30 miles an hour, would require but 36 hours. This route would therefore save, in the communication between Europe and America, 56 hours to every individual, in all time to come, who passed between the two continents; the sea-risks to life and property being diminished by one-third of the whole.

The States lying east of New York will be benefited in a ratio corresponding with their relative distances from that city. A merchant travelling from London to Portland, not only wastes 56 hours in going to New York, but must turn back and travel 400 miles on the route to Halifax besides, which will require 13 hours more.

It is clear then, that when the line across Ireland is completed, and that from Halifax to Waterville (from thence the lines are continuous all over the United States), this route may defy competition. No business man will travel by a route which leaves him 56 or 60 hours behind time, which gives to others dealing in the same articles, and entering the same markets with the same information, such very decided advantages.

No person travelling for pleasure will waste 56 hours, at some peril, on the ocean, where there is nothing to see, who can, in perfect security, run over the same distance by land, with a cultivated country and a succession of towns and villages to relieve the eye.

The Americans assembled at the Portland Convention pledged themselves to make this line through the territory of Maine. Capitalists and contractors in that country profess their readiness to complete the whole through the British provinces, provided acts of incorporation are given to them with liberal grants of land and money in addition.

For various reasons, the Government of Nova Scotia are reluctant to permit this to be done.

They are unwilling to surrender that which must become for ever the great highway between the capital of Nova Scotia and her eastern counties, to the management and control of foreign capitalists.

They believe it to be, my Lord, equally sound provincial and sound national policy, that that portion of what must become a great highway of nations, which lies within the territories of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, should be kept under British control; and they believe that the security and defence of the maritime provinces are involved in adherence to that policy.

They believe that the honour of the Crown is concerned in this question, to an extent which calls upon them to pledge the entire credit and resources of the province, that it may not be tarnished. Having done this, they believe that the Imperial Govern-

ment ought to take at least sufficient interest in the question to enable them to enter the English money-market on the best terms, and effect a large saving in the expenditure required.

Money is worth, in the United States and in the British provinces, 6 per cent. Suppose this railroad to be constructed by American or provincial capitalists, it is evident that our portion of it, which will cost £800,000 sterling, must pay £48,000 sterling, or £60,000 currency, over and above its working expenses.

With the Imperial guarantee, we can obtain the funds required at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., reducing the annual interest to £28,000 sterling, or £35,000 currency.

The Government of Nova Scotia believe, that if British capital, so much of which flows into foreign States, where it is always insecure, and in times of trial is found to have invariably strengthened our enemies, can be safely invested in the Queen's dominions, the Imperial Government should take an interest in its legitimate employment; and they are quite prepared to invest an equal sum to that now required in building a line through the western counties of Nova Scotia, wherever the eastern pays its working expenses and interest on the sum expended.

They believe that, even if the province could raise this amount of capital, to withdraw so large a sum from the ordinary channels of circulation, where it is beneficially employed, and earning interest and profits, would cramp the trade of the country, and produce, on a small scale, embarrassments similar in their nature to those experienced in the parent State.

They believe that a low rate of interest would lead to the establishment of a low rate of fares, of which every Englishman passing over the line would feel the advantage.

They are prepared to carry the British and American mails at reasonable rates, and to authorize the British Government to pay the amounts contracted for, to their credit on the loan,

They believe that Her Majesty's Government legitimately employed their influence in securing, by the Nicaragua Treaty, a passage for British subjects and commerce to the East. They believe that to control the great highway to the West, and to secure to a British province the advantages of oceanic steam navigation, would be an equally legitimate object.

They believe that if Her Majesty's Government takes the lead in these noble North American enterprises, they will make the Queen's name a tower of strength on that continent.

They apprehend that if the colonists are driven to seek sympathy and assistance from the United States, in aid of their public works, to become large debtors to their capitalists, at extravagant interest, to employ their citizens habitually in the besom of their country, a

revulsion of feeling, dangerous to British interests, will be created, which statesmen should foresee and avoid.

Whether, my Lord, it was prudent in the Provincial Government to ask for the Imperial guarantee, I would respectfully suggest that it is now too late to consider. The refusal will wound the pride of every Nova Scotian, and strengthen the belief that England is indifferent to the industrial development of the maritime provinces: that she has no policy, by backing which their inhabitants can be elevated to fair competition with their Republican neighbours; and that when they ask her countenance and co-operation in measures which are as essential to the national dignity and security, as they would be productive of internal improvement, the reply, though courteous, shuts out hope.

An impression prevails in the Lower Provinces, that either from the immediate presence in Canada of noblemen generally standing high in the confidence of the Ministry at home, or from the sensitive irritability with which all parties resort to open violence in that province, more weight is given to representations affecting her interest, than to those which concern the maritime colonies. Nova Scotians, compelled to sacrifice £22,000 a year in the completion of a national work, by the refusal of the Imperial Government to guarantee to the capitalists of England the interest on this loan, cannot fail to contrast the relative position in which they are placed by that refusal. That they may not copy the evil examples by which a larger share of fraternal consideration will appear to them to have been secured, shall be my sincere and anxious prayer.

The Canadas, seeking Responsible Government in the French mode, resorted to armed insurrections, which cost England 4 or £5,000,000 to suppress. Immediately after the restoration of tranquillity, the British Government lent the Canadas £1,500,000.

Had the maritime provinces participated in those rebellions, every regiment that marched through them in the winters of 1837 and 1839 would have been cut off. They did not. They adhered to their allegiance, and denounced the rebels. They cheered the soldiers on their winter marches, and provided for their wives and children. Yet Canada has been rewarded for bad faith and the waste of national resources, by a bonus of a million and a half; and I know of terms in which I can describe what my countrymen will feel, if, with a surplus revenue already available to secure the parent State from risk, they are refused the guarantee for half that amount.

In 1839, the State of Maine called out its Militia to overrun the Province of New Brunswick. Nova Scotia, though not directly menaced, promptly tendered her entire pecuniary and physical resources in vindication of the national honour. She had no direct interest in the Boundary question. Not an acre of

her soil was menaced; yet she did not hesitate to tender her means, and to set an example of loyal unanimity, much wanted on the continent at that moment, and which, had war commenced, could not have failed to have drawn it into her bosom. Yet now, the people she would have fought tender their cooperation to make a great national highway across her soil; and I submit, with all deference, my Lord, whether the Sovereign, whose honor she was prompt to vindicate, should be advised to refuse her aid, and view with unconcern the probable construction of such a work in our very midst, by foreign capital, to be subject to foreign influence and control.

When the storm blew from Maine we wrapped our loyalty around us. Who can tell what may happen, should the sun of prosperity shine from that quarter, and coldness and neglect appear on the other side?

England would not allow foreigners to control a great line of railway reaching from Dover to Aberdeen. Should she permit them to control 350 miles of railway through Nova Scotia and New Brunswick?

When the French propagandists menaced Belgium, the Belgian Government controlled the railways. The invaders were ambushed and overpowered; and through all the convulsions of 1848—1850, Belgium has remained tranquil and secure.

When the mob of Montreal seized upon the capital of Canada, the electric telegraph was in their hands. The wires were used to communicate with partizans above and below, by which Lord Elgin was seriously compromised, his Government having no assurance that their secrets were kept or their messages delivered.

But, my Lord, it may be asked, why should foreign capitalists make and control this road? Why may this not be done by the colonists themselves? Because,—

1st. Capital is more abundant in the United States (most of which have borrowed largely from England) than in the British provinces.

2nd. Experience of railway enterprises, and confidence in them are more general in that country.

3rd. A body of railway engineers, contractors, and operatives, already formed in the different States, seek further employment, and will take much stock in payment, if employed.

4th. The interest of most of the lines south and west would be promoted by extension. Not only would Europeans, now reaching the Central States by sea, travel by rail if this were laid, but the population of the provinces, who rarely go south or west, for want of facilities, would, by the aid of the European and North American Railroad, be let in on the western and southern lines.

5th. The national importance of controlling this railroad will induce Americans to embark in it. The electric telegraph across Nova

Scotia was no sooner completed, than American merchants and speculators in cotton and corn would have bought it at any price. In peace and war the command of the work now proposed would give them great influence. No single association in the two provinces would wield so much. If they built the trunk line they would ultimately control the branches. The constant employment of their own people would lead to the diffusion of Republican sentiments; and no Nova Scotian, or inhabitant of New Brunswick, would deem it worth his while to attempt to counteract tendencies to which the mother country seemed indifferent, and which he saw must inevitably lead to but one result.

Should it be objected, my Lord, that to comply with the request preferred by Nova Scotia, would be to delay or peril the completion of the great railway projected by Lord Durham, and which was designed to form a back-bone for the North American Provinces, and to open up large tracts of waste land to colonization; we answer—

Show us that Her Majesty's Government seriously entertain that project; that they are prepared to go down to Parliament and demand that it shall be realized; and Nova Scotia will at once honourably redeem the pledges which, in anticipation of what she conceived to be the Imperial policy, were recorded upon her statute-book.

However the question may have changed its aspect, Nova Scotia will not swerve from any line of inter-colonial policy which the parent State regards of paramount importance.

But the question has changed its aspect. Whether Canada, with its railway lines, connecting Montreal and Quebec with the sea, *via* Melbourne and Portland, and which will, by the completion of the line now proposed through the cultivated parts of New Brunswick, unite both these great cities with Halifax, by distances severally of 825 and 865 miles, will be disposed to embark funds in another, through a comparative wilderness, remains to be proved.

Nova Scotia, whatever may be the predictions of the Imperial Government, or the determination of Canada, possesses this advantage: The line which she proposes to construct through her territory, must be a common trunk-line for both the Portland and the Quebec Railroads, whenever these are completed.

Nova Scotia, cannot be wrong in constructing her 130 miles. If the Portland Railroad only is built, she is content to share the fortunes of that enterprise. If the British Government prefer, and choose to aid the work originally proposed, Nova Scotia will either pay her contribution, already pledged, or she will make that portion of the common line to the St. Lawrence which passes through her territory.

We hope to see both lines finished. One continuous railroad communication with the

great rivers and lakes of Canada, or with the principal cities of the United States, would give an impetus to the social and material prosperity of Nova Scotia, which her people anticipate, in confident reliance upon their own resources and on the bounties of Providence. Give them both, and the trunk line through their country must become a source of prosperity to the province, to its Government,—only to be paralleled, in the history of the New World, by the celebrated Erie Canal.

But, my Lord, it may be urged that the parent State has many colonies, and that she may be embarrassed by other claims of a similar nature, if this is granted. Admitting the soundness, of the objection, I respectfully submit that it comes too late. The British Government has already established the precedents of which Nova Scotia would claim the benefit. The grants to Canada have been already referred to. In 1848, a law was passed by Parliament, guaranteeing the interest required on a loan for the public works of the West Indies and the Mauritius, including railways.

But we humbly conceive that no general rule of this kind ought to apply, even if the exceptions to which I have referred did not exist. The Government of England does not place a lighthouse on every headland, nor maintain a garrison in every English town. It does not build a dockyard in every county, nor in every colony. The prominent points of the sea-coast are occupied for commercial security, and the most commanding positions for the preservation of internal tranquility and national defence.

Gibraltar is a barren rock, yet millions have been expended in its capture and defence. Bermuda, in intrinsic value, is not worth a single county of New Brunswick, yet it commands the surrounding seas, and is therefore occupied for national objects.

In like manner, I would respectfully submit should the commanding position of Nova Scotia be appreciated, occupied, and rendered impregnable—not by the presence of fleets and armies—but by inspiring its people with full confidence in the justice, magnanimity and wisdom of the Imperial Government—by promptly securing to the provinces all the advantages arising from its proximity to Europe—from its containing within its bosom the high road, over which, in all time to come, the Anglo-Saxon race must pass in their social and commercial intercourse with each other.

There are other views of this question, my Lord, which ought to have their weight with the Government and people of England.—The position of the North American Provinces is peculiar, and the temptations and dangers which surround them, trust me, my Lord, require, on the part of the Imperial Government, a policy at once conciliatory and energetic.

The concessions already made, and the principles acknowledged by Her Majesty's

Government, leave us nothing to desire, and Imperial statesmen little to do, in regard to the internal administration of our affairs. But something more than this is required by the high-spirited race who inhabit British America. Placed between two mighty nations, we sometimes feel that we belong, in fact, to neither. Twenty millions of people live beside us, from whose markets our staple productions are excluded, or in which they are burthened with high duties, because we are British subjects. For the same reason, the higher paths of ambition, on every hand inviting the ardent spirits of the Union, are closed to us. From equal participation in common right, from fair competition with them in the more elevated duties of Government and the distribution of its prizes, our British brethren, on the other side, as carefully exclude us. The President of the United States is the son of a school-master. There are more than 1000 school-masters teaching the rising youth of Nova Scotia, with the depressing conviction upon their minds, that no very elevated walks of ambition are open either to their pupils or their children.

Protection to any species of industry in Nova Scotia we utterly repudiate; but your Lordship is well aware that many branches of industry, many delicate and many coarse manufactures, require an extended demand before they can be sustained in any country. This extended demand the citizens of the great Republic enjoy; and it has done more for them than even their high tariffs or their peculiar institutions. The wooden nutmeg of Connecticut may flavour, untaxed, the rice of Carolina. Sea-borne in a vessel which traverses two mighty oceans, the coarse cloths of Massachusetts enter the Port of San Francisco without fear of a custom-house or payment of duty. The staple exports of Nova Scotia cannot cross the Bay of Fundy without paying 3 per cent.; and every species of colonial manufacture is excluded from Great Britain by the comparatively low price of labour here, and from the wide range of the Republic by prohibitory duties.

The patience with which this state of things has been borne; the industry and enterprise which Nova Scotia has exhibited, in facing these difficulties, entitle her to some consideration. But a single century has passed away since the first permanent occupation of her soil by a British race. During all that time she has preserved her loyalty untarnished, and the property created upon her soil, or which floats under her flag upon the sea, is estimated at the value of £15,000,000. She provides for her own civil Government,—guards her criminals,—lights her coast,—maintains her poor,—and educates her people, from her own resources. Her surface is everywhere intersected with free roads, inferior to none in America; and her hardy shoemen not only wrestle with the Republicans for the fisheries and commerce of the surrounding seas, but

enter into successful competition with them in the carrying trade of the world. Such a country, your Lordship will readily pardon me for suggesting, even to my gracious Sovereign's confidential advisers, is worth a thought. Not to wound the feelings of its inhabitants, or even seem to disregard their interests, may be worth the small sacrifice she now requires.

Nova Scotia has a claim upon the British Government and Parliament, which no other colony has. The mineral treasures in her bosom are supposed to be as inexhaustible as the fisheries upon her coast or the riches of her soil. Nearly the whole have been bartered away to a single company, for no adequate provincial or national object. A monopoly has thus been created, which wounds the pride, while it cramps the industry of the people. If Nova Scotia were a State of the American Union, this monopoly would not last an hour. If she now asked to have this lease cancelled or bought up, that her industry might be free, she would seek nothing unreasonable. The emancipation of our soil is perhaps as much an obligation resting upon the people of England, as was the emancipation of the slaves. No Government dare create such a monopoly, in England or in Scotland; and bear with me, my Lord, when I assure Your Lordship that our feelings are as keen, our pride as sensitive, as those of Englishmen or Scotchmen. Break up this monopoly, and capital would flow into our mines, and the mines would furnish not only employment for railroads, but give an impetus to our coasting and foreign trade.

Nova Scotians have seen £20,000,000 not lent, but given, to their fellow-colonists in the West Indies. They admired the spirit which overlooked pecuniary considerations in view of great principles of national honour and humanity. But by that very act they lost, for a time, more than would make this railroad.— Their commerce with the West Indies was seriously deranged by the change, and the consumption of fish, their great staple, largely diminished.

If money is no object when the national honour is at stake in the West Indies, why should it be in British America? If the emancipation of 800,000 Blacks is a moral obligation, to be redeemed at the cost of £20,000,000., surely a territory, which now contains double the number of Whites, attached British subjects, and which will ultimately contain ten times that number, is worth risking a million or two to preserve.

The national bounties of France and America my Lord, also place Nova Scotia in a false and unfavourable position. These bounties are not aimed at our industry, but at British naval supremacy. Yet they subject us to an unfair competition upon the sea, as galling as is the mineral and metallic monopoly upon the land.

For every quintal of fish a Frenchmen catches, his Government pays him 10 francs or 8s. 4d. sterling, and every man and boy

employed receives 50 francs for each voyage besides. For every ton of shipping an American employs in the fishery, his Government pays him 20s. per ton. Nova Scotia juts into the seas which the French and American fishermen, thus stimulated, occupy. If she were a French province, or an American State, not only would she participate in those bounties but she would fit out and own, in addition to her present fleet, at least 1000 fishing craft, which now come from foreign ports into the waters by which she is surrounded, and subject her people to a species of competition in which the advantages are all on one side.

The manner in which Nova Scotia has extended her fisheries in the face of this competition; the hardy race she has reared upon her sea-coast; the value of craft employed and of export furnished, speak volumes for the enterprise and industry of her people. Yet every Nova Scotian fishermen toils with this conviction daily impressed upon his mind:—"If I were a Frenchman, my profits would be secure. I would be in a position equal to that of an American; far superior to that of a colonist. If I was an American, I would have a bounty sufficient to cover the risk of my outfit, and besides, have a boundless free market for the sale of my fish, extending from Maine to California, which is now half-closed to me by nearly prohibitory duties."

The British Government could break down these bounties at once, by equalizing them. The mother-country owes it to her Northern Provinces to try the experiment, if they cannot be removed by negotiation. But suppose she does not; suppose that having done my best to draw attention to the claims of those I have the honour to represent, I return to them without hope, how long will high spirited men endure a position in which their loyalty subjects their mines to monopoly—their fisheries to unnatural competition—and in which cold indifference to public improvement or national security, is the only response they meet when they make to the Imperial authorities a proposition calculated to keep alive their national enthusiasm, while developing their internal resources?

The idea of a great inter-colonial railroad to unite the British American Provinces, originated with Lord Durham. In the confident belief that this work was to be regarded as one of national importance, Nova Scotia paid towards the survey of the line nearly £8000. The anticipation that the completion of this great work, in connexion with a scheme of colonization, would redress many of the evils and inequalities under which the provinces labour, for some time buoyed up the spirits of the people, and the disappointment is keenly felt in proportion as hopes were sanguine. If then the British Government has abandoned the policy to which, perhaps too hastily, we assumed that it was pledged; if the empire will make no roads through its territories (and the legions of Britain might

be worse employed); surely it cannot be less than madness to permit foreigners to make them; and it must be sound statesmanship to aid the Colonial Governments, whenever they will assume the responsibility of constructing and controlling the great highways, no less necessary for internal improvement than for national defence.

If the road to Nova Scotia is commenced, the spirits of the colonists will revive. If extended to Portland, it will "prepare the way," to employ your Lordship's own language, "for the execution of the line to Quebec, and it will contribute to the same end, namely, that of rendering Halifax the great port of communication between the two continents of Europe and America."

I have said that the railroad across Nova Scotia will be the common trunk for the Quebec and Portland lines, whenever these are made. The former cannot be constructed by the colonists, unless the British Government make liberal contributions. The line to Portland will be made either with British or American capital. If by the latter, then, my Lord, it is worth while to inquire in what position the British Government will stand, should they ever attempt to realize Lord Durham's magnificent conception, and find that the first link in the great chain of inter-colonial communication is already in possession of their enemies?

The Americans at this moment are putting forth their utmost skill to compete with our ocean steamers. When the railroad is constructed across Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, their boats must start from and return to Halifax, or the competition will be at an end. A rivalry, honourable to both nations, may still continue; but, however the odds may turn, at least we shall have the satisfaction to reflect, that the inevitable result of that competition is to build up a noble maritime city within Her Majesty's dominions.

The British Government now pays, for the conveyance of the North American Mails between England and New York, £145,000 sterling per annum. By this arrangement, 1107 miles of sea are traversed more than are necessary. The correspondence of all Europe with all America is delayed fifty six hours beyond the time which will be actually required for its conveyance, when the railroads across Ireland and Nova Scotia are completed.

One set of these British mail-steamers pass by our own provinces, and, to the mortification of their inhabitants, carry their letters, and even the public despatches of their Government, to the United States, to be sent back 800 miles, if they come by land; at least 500, if sent by sea.

While the nearest land to Europe is British territory,—while a harbour, almost matchless for security and capacity, invites Englishmen to build up within the empire a fitting rival to the great commercial cities which are rising beyond it, your Lordship will readily compre-

hend the depth and earnestness of our impatience to be rescued from a position which wounds our pride as British subjects, and is calculated rapidly to generate the belief, that the commanding position of our country is either not understood, or our interests but lightly valued.

My Lord, I do not touch the question of Emigration and Colonization, because I have already trespassed largely upon your Lordship's patience, and because I do not wish to encumber the subject. There is another reason, my Lord. I do not desire to enter incidentally upon a field which has yielded so many crops of fallacies, but which, properly cultivated, may yet bear noble fruit. I wish to examine what may have been recently said and written in England, on this important subject, before expressing my opinion. This only I may say, that if the British Islands have surplus labour, there is room for it all in the North American Provinces: and that the honour and the interests of England are deeply concerned in planting that labour in the right place.

I am aware, my Lord, that it is the fashion in certain quarters, to speak of the fraternal feelings which, henceforward, are to mutually animate the population of Great Britain and of the United States. I wish I could credit the reality of their existence; but I must believe the evidence of my own senses.

A few years ago I spent the 4th of July at Albany. The ceremonies of the day were imposing. In one of the largest public halls of the city, an immense body of persons were assembled. English, Irish, and Scotch faces were neither few nor far between. In the presence of that breathless audience, the old bill of indictment against England, the Declaration of Independence, was read, and at every clause each young American knit his brows, and every Briton hung his head with shame. Then followed the oration of the day, in which every nation, eminent for arts, or arms, or civilization, received its meed of praise, but England. She was held up as the universal oppressor and scourge of the whole earth,—whose passage down the stream of time was marked by blood and usurpation,—whose certain wreck, amidst the troubled waves, was but the inevitable retribution attendant on a course so ruthless. As the orator closed, the young Americans knit their brows again; and the recent emigrants, I fear, carried away by the spirit of the scene, cast aside their allegiance to the land of their fathers.

Had this scene, my Lord, occurred in a single town, it would have made but a slight impression; but on that very day, it was acted with more or less of skill and exaggeration, in every town and village of the Republic. It has been repeated on every 4th of July since. It will be repeated every year to the end of time. And so long as that ceremony turns upon England, every twelve month, the concentrated hatred of Republican America, it

cannot be a question of indifference, whether the emigrants who desire to leave the mother country, should settle within or beyond the boundaries of the empire.

There is, my Lord, another view of this question, that is pregnant with materials for reflection, and that should task the statesmanship of England, independently of it, though deserving to be glanced at in this connexion. I have said that the North American Provinces lie between two mighty nations, yet belong in fact, to neither. This branch of the subject is wide, and may be variously illustrated.—Perhaps, before leaving England, I may call your Lordship's attention to it again. For the present I confine myself to a single illustration.

Whatever may be the decision of Her Majesty's Government upon this claim, which, on the part of the province I represent, I have endeavoured respectfully to press upon your Lordship's notice, I believe, and every one of my countrymen will believe, that if presented to the magnanimous and enlightened Assembly where we are not represented, by a few Nova Scotians, whose hearts were in the enterprise; whose knowledge of the position and requirements of British America was minute and various; whose zeal for the integrity of the empire, and the honour of the Crown, could not be questioned, the House of Commons would not permit them to plead in vain.

But, my Lord, we have no such privilege. We daily see our friends or acquaintance across the frontier, not only distinguishing themselves in the State Legislatures which guard their municipal interests, but enriching the national councils with the varied eloquence and knowledge drawn from every portion of the Union. From the national councils of his country, the British American is shut out. Every day he is beginning to feel the contrast more keenly. I was not at the recent Portland Convention, but the colonists who did attend, astonished the Americans by their general bearing, ability, and eloquence.

But when these men separated, it was with the depressing conviction in the hearts of our people, that one set would be heard, perhaps, on the floors of Congress the week after, or be conveyed in national ships to foreign Embassies; while the other could never lift their voices in the British Parliament, nor aspire to higher employment than their several provinces could bestow. Let us then my Lord, at least feel, that if thus excluded, we have but to present a claim or a case worthy of consideration, to have it dealt with in a fair and even generous spirit.

The warrior of old, whose place was vacant in the pageant, was yet present in the hearts of the people. So let it be with us, my Lord. If the seats which many whom I have left behind me, could occupy with honour to themselves, and advantage to the empire, are still vacant in the national councils, let Nova

Scotia at least be consoled by the reflection that her past history pleads for her on every fitting occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH HOWE.

The Right Hon. Earl Grey.

&c. &c. &c.

Mon. Joseph Howe to Earl Grey,

5, Sloane Street, January 16, 1851.

MY LORD,

In the letter which I had the honour to address to your Lordship on the 25th November, I argued the case of Nova Scotia on its own merits, and ventured to claim the guarantee of the Imperial Government in aid of her public works, upon grounds which affected her material interests, her pride, her enterprise, and steadfast loyalty to the British Crown.

The immediate consideration of that letter I did not desire, because, while preparing it, I was quite conscious that if the single issue raised, were to be decided by Her Majesty's Government upon the merits or claims of Nova Scotia alone, the Cabinet would have but a very inadequate statement of the reasons which ought to secure, and the province I represent but a slender chance of obtaining, a favourable decision.

The interest which the mother-country has in the elevation of North America, in the increase of her population, the development of her resources, the occupation of her wild lands the extension of her commerce, and of her means of easy internal and external communication, I believe too far transcend the interest, great as that is, which the several provinces feel in these very important questions.

Should the aid of the parent State be refused, the Northern Provinces would still, but with less rapidity, complete their public works. Though not an emigrant landed on their shores, the population they have would live in plenty, and double every twenty years. Should they change their political relations, the worst that could befall them, would be association with their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, or an independent position, moderately secure, and full of future promise.

But England cannot afford to descend from the high position which she occupies among the nations of the earth. Having lost one-half of a mighty continent, won by the valour and enterprise of a noble ancestry, she can as little afford to confess, in the presence of all the world, her inability to wisely rule the other half, and preserve the attachment of its inhabitants. Besides, there are within her own populous cities, and upon the surface of her highly-cultivated rural districts, certain evils, disorders, and burthens, with which it behoves her, as a good economist, and as a wise, enterprising, and Christian nation, energetically to deal.

For more than a month I have surveyed, with intense earnestness, the wide circle of her colonial dependencies, and studied in parlia-

mentary and official papers, for some assured prospect of relief from those evils and disorders. I have examined with care the policy of the present and of past Governments, and the plans and suggestions of public writers and associations; and have invariably turned to the North American provinces with the conviction that they present, at this moment, the most available and diversified resources for the relief of England; the noblest field for the further development of her industry, philanthropy and power.

In offering suggestions to the Ministers of the Crown, I feel, my Lord, the distance which divides me, in rank and intelligence, from those I would presume to counsel; and yet I am not without a hope that they will give some weight to the position I occupy and to the training which my mind has received.

If I understand the questions to be approached better than many persons of far higher attainments—if I feel more acutely their commanding importance, it is because, being a native of North America, I have travelled much over the provinces, and mingled familiarly, and for many years, with all classes of their inhabitants; and being a member of her Majesty's Council in the province I represent, I am bound by my oath to offer my advice, through the Channels established by the Constitution, to my Sovereign, in matters of State, which I believe to involve the honour of the Crown and the integrity and prosperity of the empire.

To provide employment for her surplus capital and labour—to extend her home markets—to relieve her poor-rates—to empty her poor houses—to reform her convicts—to diminish crime—to fill up the waste places of the empire, and to give the great mass of her population a share of real estate, and an interest in property, I believe it to be pre-eminently the mission and the duty of this great country at the present time.

The period is favourable. The removal of impolitic restrictions has lessened to some extent the pressure upon the public finances, and given to the people that measure of relief which affords time for reflection upon the means by which the still existing pressure upon industry may be further relieved. In a colonial point of view, the period is also favourable. Thanks to the policy which the present Cabinet have carried out, the North American Provinces are relieved, so far as free countries ever can be, from internal dissensions. Invested with controul over their own affairs and resources, they have now the leisure, as they assuredly have a sincere desire, to consult with their brethren on this side of the Atlantic on common measures of mutual advantage. I think I may say that while they anticipate great benefit from the co-operation and aid of the mother-country in promoting their public works, they are not unmindful of their duty to consider the peculiar questions in which this country feels an interest; and to take care that while availing themselves of

the credit of England, no permanent addition is made to her public burthens.

The subjects of Colonization and Emigration have been most elaborately discussed. I pass over the points in which writers and speakers differ; in this they all agree, that the British Islands have an interest in these subjects, second to none that has ever been felt by any nation in ancient or modern times. The enumeration of a few facts will be sufficient to exhibit the grounds of this belief. The statistical returns of 1850 will, I have no doubt, show a state of things much more favourable, but still I fear not so favourable as to shake the general conclusions at which I have arrived. These are founded upon facts, as I find them stated in official documents and works of approved authority.

In Ireland the lives of the population have for years been dependent upon the growth of a single vegetable. But when it grew, as was stated by the late Charles Buller, uncontradicted, in the House of Commons, on an average there were 2,000,000 persons who, in that island, were unemployed for thirty weeks in the year. To what extent famine and emigration have since diminished the numbers, I have no means of accurately judging; but it appears that in 1848, besides the 10,000,000*l.* granted by Parliament for the relief of Irish distress, and provisions sent from other countries, 1,216,679*l.* were raised in Ireland for the support of the poor, and that 1,457,194, or nearly 1 out of 5 of the entire population, received relief.

In Scotland, where the population is only 2,620,000, a fifth more than that of British America, 545,334*l.* were expended for the relief of the poor in 1848, more than was spent by the four British provinces on their civil government, roads, education, lights, interest on debts, and all other services put together; 227,647 persons were relieved, the amount expended on each being 2*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*; a sum quite sufficient to have paid, in a regularly appointed steamboat, the passage of each recipient to British America.

In England, in the same year, 6,180,765*l.* were raised for the relief of the poor, or 1*s.* 10*d.* in the pound on 67,300,587*l.* The number aided was 1,176,541, or about 1 out of every 11 persons occupying this garden of the world. The sum paid for each was even higher than in Scotland, being 3*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* per head, more than sufficient to have paid the passage to North America from Liverpool or Southampton.

I turn to the workhouses of England, and find that in 1849 there were in these receptacles, 30,158 boys and 26,165 girls, of whom 8,264 were fit for service. In Ireland, under 18, there were 60,514 boys and 66,285 girls, the aggregate in the two countries being 185,122.

Turning to the criminal calendar, it appears that in 1848 there were committed for offences in England, 30,349; in Scotland, 4,900; and in Ireland, 38,522, making 73,771 in all; of

whom 6,293 were transported, and 37,373 imprisoned.

I find that in 1849 you maintained in Ireland a constabulary of 12,828 men, besides horses, at a cost, taking the preceding year as a guide, of 562,506*l.* 10*s.* In England and Wales you employed 9,829 policemen (including the London police), at a cost of 579,327*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* From Scotland I have no return.— But taking the above facts to guide us, it appears that, for mere purposes of internal repression, and the arrest of criminals, to say nothing of beadles and innumerable parish officers, you maintained, in addition to your army, a civic force double in number the entire army of the United States, at a cost (Scotland not being included) of 1,141,833*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

Think you, my Lord, that when a Republican points exultingly to the returns, and contrasts these statistics of poverty and crime with the comparative abundance and innocence of his own country, and which he attributes to his own peculiar institutions, that a British colonist does not turn, with astonishment at the apathy of England, to the millions of square miles of fertile territory which surround him ; to the noble rivers, and lakes, and forests by which the scenery is diversified ; to the exhaustless fisheries ; and to the motive power, rushing from a thousand hills into the sea, and with which all the steam-engines of Britain cannot compete ?

Driven to attribute to British and Irish statesmen a want of courage and forecaste to make these great resources available to maintain our brethren and protect their morals, or to suspect the latter of being more idle, degraded, and criminal, than their conduct abroad would warrant, we gladly escape from the apprehension of doing general injustice, by laying the blame on our rulers. May it be the elevated determination of her Majesty's Advisers to relieve us from the dilemma, by wiping out this national reproach.

One set of economists propose to remedy this state of things by restraints upon nature, which are simply impossible, and would be wicked if they were not ; another large political party desire to feed the people by a return to protection and the revival of class interests with all their delusions and hostilities ; a third look hopefully forward to the further development of domestic industry in accordance with the principles of free trade.

All my sympathies are with the latter ; but while hostile tariffs exist in most of the populous States of Europe and America, I would aid them by the creation of new markets within the Queen's dominions, by the judicious location of those who are a burden, upon the fertile lands of the empire, that they may become customers to those who remain at home.

One writer, whose book I have read recently, objects to this, because he says that if any part of the population is displaced, young people will marry, and increase the numbers until the vacuum is filled up. The young ought

certainly not to object to this, or the old either. If his theory be sound, it answers the objections of those who fear too great diminution of numbers, by emigration ; and colonization would still have this advantage, that it would strengthen the transatlantic provinces, and make more customers for Britain and Ireland, even should their population remain the same.

But it may be said there is but one enlightened mode of colonization, and, under the patronage of the Government and of associated companies, that is being very extensively tried in our southern and eastern possessions.

Of the Wakefield theory I would speak with all respect ; of the combined efforts of public-spirited individuals, I would be the last to disapprove ; the judicious arrangements made by the Government Commissioners, for the selection of emigrants, the ventilation and security of ships, and the distribution of labour, and which I have carefully examined, challenge in most of their details, my entire sanction.

I do not wish to check the progress, in these valuable colonies, of associated enterprise ; I do not desire to restrict the growth of population within them, or to supersede the functions of the Board of Land and Emigration ; I wish these rising communities God speed, and success to all those who take an interest in them.

But I turn from them to the North American field, perhaps because I know it best, but assuredly because I believe that to people and strengthen it will secure political advantages of the very highest importance, and because I apprehend that the Eastern Colonies, however they may prosper and improve, will offer but homœopathic remedies for the internal maladies of England.

In twenty-two years, from 1825 to 1846 inclusive, only 124,272 persons went from the United Kingdom to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand. In the same period, 710,410 went to the United States, to strengthen a foreign and a rival Power, to entrench themselves behind a hostile tariff, and to become consumers of American manufactures, and of foreign productions, scaborn in American bottoms ; they and the countless generation that has already sprung from their loins, unconscious of regard for British interests and of allegiance to the Crown of England.

In twenty-two years 124,272 settlers have gone to Australia and New Zealand ; about half the number on the poor-rate of Scotland in 1848, not a tenth part of the paupers relieved in Ireland, or one in fourteen of those who were supported by England's heavily-taxed industry in that single year : not more, I apprehend, than died of famine in a single county of Ireland from 1846 to 1850 ; and less, by 60,000, than the number of the young people who were in the workhouses of England and Ireland in 1849.

Valuable as these Eastern Colonies may be, respectable as may have been the efforts to improve them, it is manifest that whether we regard them as extensive fields for coloni-

zation, or as industrial aids for the removal of pressure on the resources of the U. Kingdom, the belief, however fondly indulged, is but a delusion and a snare. Were I to go into a calculation of the expense, to show what this emigration has cost the Government and people of England, I could prove this by pregnant illustrations. But two or three simple facts are patent, and lie upon the surface.

Australia and New Zealand are 14,000 miles from the shores of England. The British provinces of North America but 2,500.—Every Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, who embarks for the Eastern Colonies, must be maintained by somebody for 120 or 150 days, while he is tossing about in idleness on the sea. The average passage to North America is about 40; and when the arrangements are complete to which I hope to have your Lordship's countenance and support, emigrants embarking for the North American Provinces, may reach Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 8 or 10 days, and Canada in 12. The expense of a passage to the East, is to the Government, to the emigrant, or to the capitalist, to whom he becomes a debtor, 20*l*. The cost of a passage to the West rarely exceeds 3*l*. 10*s*., and may be reduced to 2*l*. 10*s*., if steamships for the poor are employed.

But mark the disproportion, my Lord, in other respects. If an English or Irishman with capital go to the Eastern Colonies, he must pay 100*l*. sterling for 100 acres of land. If he goes to the Canterbury Settlement he must pay 300*l*. In Western Canada he can get his 100 acres of the best land in the empire for 40*l*.; in Lower Canada for 20*l*.; in N. Brunswick (where Professor Johnston declares more wheat is grown to the acre than in the best parts of the State of New York,) for 12*l*. 10*s*.; and in Nova Scotia for 10*l*., where, from the extent of mineral treasures, the proximity to Europe, the wealth of the fisheries, and the facilities for and rapid growth of navigation, land is now in many sections, and will soon become in all, as valuable as in any part of Her Majesty's Colonial Dominions.

If land is purchased in the Eastern Possessions, it is clear that English capital must flow out at the rate of 100*l*. or 300*l*., for every 100 acres. If the poor go out they must begin colonial life by owing that amount, and 20*l*. for their passages besides, if they aspire to become proprietors.

A poor Englishman, on the contrary, can get to North America for a few pounds. If he works a single winter at the seal-fishery of Newfoundland, or on the wharves in Nova Scotia, or a single summer in the rural districts or timber forests of New Brunswick, he can save as much as will pay for his passage and his land.

But it is said that these high prices are paid, not for land alone, but for the civilization without which land is of little value,—for roads, bridges, churches, schools, for religious services and the means of education. But all these exist in North America, to an extent,

and of an order, of which few persons who have not visited the provinces have any correct idea. Nova Scotia, for instance, is divided into seventeen counties, with their magistrates, sessions, court-houses, jails, representatives, and complete county organization.

Each of these again is divided into townships, whose ratepayers meet, assess themselves, support their poor, and appoint their local officers. In each of the shire towns there are churches of some if not of all the religious bodies which divide the British people. Every part of the country is intersected with roads, and bridges span all the larger and most of the smaller streams.

From 50 to 100 public schools exist in every county; there is a Bible in every house, and few natives of the province grow up but what can read, write, and cypher. The same may be said generally of the other provinces. We charge nothing for these civilizing influences. The emigrant who comes in, obeys the laws and pays his ordinary taxes, which are very light, is welcome to a participation in them all, and may for 10*l*. have his 100 acres of land besides.

The best criterion of the comparative civilization of countries may be found in the growth of commerce and the increase of a mercantile marine. Tried by this test, the North American Provinces will stand comparison with any other portion of the Queen's dominions.

The West India Colonies, the Australian group including New Zealand, the African Colonies and the East Indian, or the Mauritius and Ceylon, owned collectively in 1846 but 2,128 vessels, or 42,610 tons of shipping. The North American group, including Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, owned in that year 5,119 vessels, measuring 393,822 tons. Of these, Nova Scotia owned in tonnage 141,093, and in number more than the other four put together, or 2,583.

But it may be asserted that the climate of North America is rigorous and severe. The answer we North Americans give to this objection is simple. Do me the honour to glance my Lord, at the hemisphere which contains the three quarters of the Old World and dividing the northern countries from the south, the rigorous climate from the warm and enervating, satisfy yourself in which reside at this moment the domestic virtues, the pith of manhood, the seats of commerce, the centres of intelligence, the arts of peace, the discipline of war, the political power and dominion—assuredly in the northern half. And yet it was not always so. The southern and eastern portions, blessed with fertility, and containing the cradle of our race, filled up first, and ruled for a time the territories to the north. But as civilization and population advanced northwards, the bracing climate did its work, as it will ever do, and in physical endurance and intellectual energy, the north asserted the superiority which to this hour it maintains.

Look now, my Lord, at the map of America.

A very common idea prevails in this country that nearly the whole Continent of North America was lost to England at the Revolution, and that only a few insignificant and almost worthless provinces remain. This is a great, and if the error extensively prevail, may be a fatal mistake. Great Britain your Lordship is well aware owns up to this moment one half the continent; and, taking the example of Europe to guide us, I believe the best half. Not the best for slavery, or for growing cotton and tobacco, but the best for raising men and women; the most congenial to the constitution of the northern European; the most provoking of steady industry; and all things else being equal, the most impregnable and secure.

But they are not and never have been equal. The first British emigration all went on to the southern half of the continent, the northern portion, for 150 years, being occupied by French hunters, traders, and indians. The British did not begin to settle in Nova Scotia, till 1749, nor in Canada till 1763. Prior to the former Period, Massachusetts had a population of 160,000, Connecticut 100,000.—The city of Philadelphia had 18,000 inhabitants before an Englishman had built a house in Halifax; Maine had 2,485 enrolled militia-men before a British settlement was formed in the Province of New Brunswick. The other States were proportionately advanced, before Englishmen turned their attention to the Northern Provinces at all.

The permanent occupation of Halifax, and the Loyalist emigration from the older provinces, gave them their first impetus. But your Lordship will perceive that in the race of improvement, the old thirteen States had a long start. They had three millions of Britons and their descendants to begin with at the Revolution. But a few hundreds occupied the provinces to which I wish to call attention at the commencement of the war, only a few thousands at its close. Your Lordship will, I trust, readily perceive that, had both portions of the American continent enjoyed the same advantages from the period when the Treaty of Paris was signed, down to the present hour, the southern half must have improved and increased its numbers much faster than the northern, because it had a numerous population, a flourishing commerce, and much wealth to begin with. But the advantages have not been equal. The excitement and the necessities of the War of Independence inspired the people of the South with enterprise and self-confidence. Besides, my Lord, they had free trade with each other, and, so far as they chose to have or could obtain it by their own diplomacy, with all the world. The Northern Provinces had separate governments, half-paternal despotisms, which repressed rather than encouraged enterprise. They had often hostile tariffs, no bond of union, and, down to the advent of Mr. Huskisson, and from thence to the final repeal of the navigation laws, were cramped in all their commer-

cial enterprises by the restrictive policy of England.

In other respects the Southern States had the advantage. From the moment that their independence was recognized, they enjoyed the absolute control over their internal affairs. Your Lordship, who has had the most ample opportunity of estimating the repressing influence of the old colonial system, and, happily for us, have swept it away, can readily fancy what advantages our neighbours derived from emancipation from its trammels. On reflection you will think it less remarkable that the southern half of the continent has improved faster than the northern, than that the latter should have improved at all.

But I have not enumerated all the sources of disparity. The national Government of the United States early saw the value and importance of emigration. They bought up Indian lands, extended their acknowledged frontiers, by purchase or successful diplomacy, surveyed their territory, and prepared for colonization. The States, or public associations within them borrowed millions from England opened roads, laid off lots, and advertised them in every part of Europe by every fair and often unfair means of puffing and exaggeration. The General Government skilfully seconded, or rather suggested, this policy.—They framed constitutions suited to those new settlements; invested them with modified forms of self government from the moment that the most simple materials for organization were accumulated; and formed them into new States, with representation in the National Councils, whenever they numbered 40,000.

What did England do all this time? Almost nothing: she was too much occupied with European wars and diplomacy. Wasting millions in subsidizing foreign Princes, many of whose petty dominions if flung into a Canadian lake would scarcely raise the tide. What did we do in the provinces to fill up the northern territory? What could we do?—Down to 1815 we were engrossed by the wars of England, our commerce being cramped by the insecurity of our coasts and harbours.—Down to the promulgation of Lord John Russell's memorable despatch of the 16th of October, 1839, and to which full effect has been given in the continental provinces by the present Cabinet, we were engaged in harassing contests with successive Governors and Secretaries of State, for the right to manage our internal affairs.

This struggle is over, and we now have the leisure and the means to devote to the great questions of colonization and internal improvement—to examine our external relations with the rest of the empire and with the rest of the world—to consult with our British brethren on the imperfect state of those relations, and of the best appropriation that can be made of their surplus labour, and of our surplus land, for our mutual advantage, that the poor may be fed, the waste places filled up

and this great empire strengthened and preserved.

But it may be asked, what interest have the people of England in this inquiry? I may be mistaken, but, in my judgement, they have an interest far more important and profound than even the colonists themselves.

The contrast between the two sides of the American frontier is a national disgrace to England. It has been so recorded in her parliamentary papers, by Lord Durham, by Lord Sydenham, and by other Governors and Commissioners.

There is not a traveller, from Hull to Buckingham, but has impressed this conviction on her literature. We do not blush at the contrast on our own account; we could not relieve it by a single shade beyond what has been accomplished. We have done our best under the circumstances in which we have been placed, as I have already shown by reference to our social and commercial progress; but we regret it, because it subjects us to the imputation of an inferiority that we do not feel, and makes us doubt whether British statesmen will, in the time to come, deal with our half of the American Continent more wisely than they have in times past.

It is clearly then the interest and the duty of England to wipe out this national stain, and to reassure her friends in North America, by removing the disadvantages under which they labour, and redressing the inequalities which they feel.

Having, however imperfectly, endeavoured to show that as a mere question of economy, of relief to her municipal and national finances, no less than of religious obligation, it is the duty of England to turn her attention to North America, permit me now for a moment to direct your Lordship's attention to the territory which it behoves the people of these United Kingdoms to occupy, organize, and retain.

Glance, my Lord, at the map, and you will perceive that Great Britain owns, on the Continent of North America, with the adjacent islands, 4,000,000 of square miles of territory. All the States of Europe, including Great Britain, measure but 3,708,871 miles. Allowing 292,129 square miles for inland lakes of greater extent than exist on this continent, the lands you own are as broad as the whole of Europe. If we take the round number of 4,000,000, and reduce the miles to acres, we have about 90 acres for every man, woman, and child, in the United Kingdom. Now suppose you spare us two millions of people, you will be relieved of that number, who now, driven by destitution into the unions or to crime swell the poor-rates and crowd the prisons.

With that number we shall be enabled, with little or no assistance, to repel foreign aggression. We shall still have a square mile, or 640 acres, for every inhabitant, or 4,480 acres for every head of a family which British America will then contain.

Is not this a country worth looking after, worth some application of Imperial credit, nay, even some expenditure of public funds, that it may be filled with friends not enemies, customers, not rivals, improved, organized, and retained? The Policy of the Republic, is protection to home manufactures. Whose cottons, linens, woollens, cutlery, iron; whose salt, machinery, guns, and paper, do the 701,401 emigrants who went to the United States between 1825 and 1846 now consume? Whose have they consumed, after every successive year of emigration? Whose will they and their descendants continue to consume? Those not of the mother country, but of the United States. This is a view of the question which should stir, to its centre, every manufacturing city in the kingdom.

Suppose the Republic could extend her tariff over the other portion of the continent, she could then laugh at the Free Trade policy of England. But if we retain that policy, and the Colonies besides, British goods will flow over the frontier, and the Americans must defend their revenue by an army of officers extending ultimately over a line of 3000 miles.

The balance of power in Europe is watched with intense interest by British Statesmen.—The slightest movement in the smallest state, that is calculated to cause vibration, animates the Foreign Office, and often adds to its perplexities and labours. But is not the balance of power in America worth retaining? Suppose it lost, how would it affect that of Europe? Canning, without much reflection, boasted that he had redressed the balance of power in the Old, by calling the New World into existence. But, even if the vaunt were justifiable, it was a world beyond the limit of the Queen's dominions. We have a new world within them, at the very door of England, with boundaries defined, and, undeniably by any foreign power, subject to her sceptre. Already it lives, and moves, and has its being; full of hope and promise, and fond attachment to the mother country. The new world of which Canning spoke, when its debts to England are counted, will appear to have been a somewhat costly creation; and yet, at this moment, Nova Scotia's little fleet of 2,583 sail could sweep every South American vessel from the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

I am not an alarmist, my Lord, but there appear to be many in England, and some of them holding high military and social positions, who consider these islands defenceless from continental invasion by any first-rate European Power. Confident as I am in their resources, and hopeful of their destiny, I must confess that the military and naval power of France or Russia, aided by the Steam-fleet and Navy of the United States, would make a contest doubtful for a time, however it might ultimately terminate. But suppose the United States to extend to Hudson's Bay, with an extension over the other half of the continent, with the spirit which animates the Republic

now ; imagine Great Britain without a harbour on the Atlantic or the Pacific that she could call her own, without a ton of coal for her steamers, or a spar to repair a ship ; with the 5000 vessels which the Northern Provinces even now own, with all their crews, and the fishermen who line their shores, added to the maritime strength of the enemy, whose arsenals and outposts would then be advanced 300 miles nearer to England ; even if Newfoundland and the West India Islands could be retained, which is extremely doubtful.—The picture is too painful to be dwelt on longer than to show how intimately interwoven are the questions to which I have ventured to call your Lordship's attention, with the foreign affairs of the empire. I do not go into comparative illustrations, because I desire now to show how a judicious use of the resources of North America may not only avert the danger in time of war, but relieve the pressure upon the Home Government in times of peace.

There is no passion stronger, my Lord, than the desire to own some portion of the earth's surface,—to call a piece of land, somewhere, our own. How few Englishmen, who boast that they rule the sea, own a single acre of land. An Englishman calls his house his castle, and so perhaps it is, but it rarely stands upon his own soil. How few there are who may not be driven out, or have their castles levelled with the ground, when the lease falls in.

There is no accurate return, but the proprietors of land in the whole United Kingdom are estimated at 80,000.

Of the 2,620,000 inhabitants that Scotland contains, but 636,093 live by agriculture ; all the rest, driven in by the high price of land, are employed in trade and manufactures. Evicted Highlanders rot in the sheds of Greenock ; and lowland peasant's offspring perish annually in the larger cities, for want of employment, food and air.

In Ireland, there are, or were recently, 44,262 farms, under one acre in extent, 473,755 ranging from one to thirty. Between 1841 and 1848, 800,000 people were driven out of these small holdings ; their hovels in many cases, burnt over their heads, and their furniture 'canted' into the street.

Whence come Chartism, Socialism, O'Connor Land-schemes, and all sorts of theoretic dangers to property, and proscriptions of new modes by which it may be acquired ? From this condition of real estate, the great mass of the people in these three kingdoms own no part of the soil, have no bit of land, however small, no homestead for their families to cluster round, no certain provision for their children.

Is it not hard for the great body of this people, after ages spent in foreign wars for the conquest of distant possessions, in voyages of discovery and every kind of commercial enterprise ; in scientific improvements and the developement of political principles ; to reflect, that with all their battles by land and sea, their £800,000,000 of debt ; their as-

sessed taxes, income tax, and heavy import duties, their prisons full of convicts ; their poor rate of £7,000,000 ; that so few of all those who have done, and who endure these things, should not have one inch of the whole earth's surface that they can call their own.

While this state of things continues, property must ever be insecure, and the great majority of the people restless. With good harvests and a brisk trade, the disinherited may for the moment forget the relative positions they occupy. In periods of depression, discontent, jealousy, hatred of the more highly favored, however tempered by liberality and kindness, will assuredly be the predominant emotions of the multitude. Their standing army and the 21,000 constables may keep them down for a time. But, even if they could for ever, the question naturally arises, have all your battles been fought for this,—to maintain in the bosom of England a state of siege, and ever impending civil war?

A new aspect would be given to all the questions which arise out of this condition of property at home, if a wise appropriation were made of the virgin soil of the empire. Give the Scotchman, who has no land, a piece of North America, purchased by the blood which stained the tartaan on the plains of Abraham. Let the Irishman or the Englishman whose kindred clubbed their muskets at Bloody Creek or charged the enemy at Queenstown, have a bit of the land their fathers fought for. Let them have at least the option of ownership and occupation, and a bridge to convey them over. Such a policy would be conservative to the rights of property, and permanently relieve the people. It would silence agrarian complaint, and enlarge the number of proprietors. The poor man, who saw before him the prospect of securing his 100, his 1000 acres, by moderate industry, would no longer envy the British proprietor, whose estate owed its value to high cultivation, but was not much larger in extent.

But it may be urged that if this policy be adopted, it may empty the United Kingdoms into North America, and largely reduce their population. No apprehensions of this result need be entertained. There are few who can live in Great Britain or Ireland, in comfort and security, who will ever go any where else. The attachment to home, with all its endearing associations, forms the first restraint.—The seat of empire will ever attract around it the higher and more wealthy classes. The value of the home market will retain every agriculturist who can be profitably employed upon the land. The accumulated capital, science and machinery, in the large commercial and manufacturing centres, will go on enlarging the field of occupation just in proportion as they are relieved from the pressure of taxation. Besides, emigrants who have improved their fortunes abroad, will be continually returning home, to participate in the luxury, refinement, and higher civilization, which

is to be fairly assumed these islands will ever pre-eminently retain. Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, still enlarge their cities, and grow in wealth and population, though all the richlands of the Republic invite their people to emigrate, and there is no ocean to cross. The natural laws which protect them would operate more powerfully here, where the attractions are so much greater.

But it is time, my Lord, that I should anticipate the questions that will naturally arise. Assuming the policy to be sound, what will it cost to carry it out?

Let us first see what the present system, or rather the public establishments, without a system, cost now:

POOR RATES	England	£6,180,765
	Scotland	544,334
	Ireland	1,216,679
CONSTABULARY.	England	579,327
	Ireland	562,506
CONVICTS at home and abroad		
EMIGRATION, 1349 (exclusive of cabin passengers) paid from Private or Parochial Bursds		1,500,000
Paid by Government		228,300
		£11,189,911

The cost of prisons, or that proportion of them which might be saved if the criminal calendar were less, might fairly be added to the amount. The prison at York cost £1200 per head for each criminal,—a sum large enough, the inspector observes, “to build for each prisoner a separate mansion, stable, and coach-house.” A large proportion of the cost of trials might also be added; and as twelve jurymen must have been summoned to try most of the 43,671 persons convicted in 1848, the waste of valuable time would form no inconsiderable item, if it were.

The loss of property stolen by those whom poverty first made criminal, no economist can estimate; and no human skill can calculate the value of lives and property destroyed in agrarian outrages, when wretchedness has deepened to despair.

My plan of Colonization and Emigration is extremely simple.

It embraces—

Ocean Steamers for the poor as well as the rich;

The preparation of the Wild Lands of North America for settlement; and Public Works to employ the people.

I do not propose that the British Government should pay the passage of anybody to America. I do not, therefore, require to combat the argument upon this point with which the Commissioners of Land and Emigration usually meet crude schemes, pressed without much knowledge or reflection. The people must pay their own passages; but the Government, or some national association, or public company to be organized for that purpose, must protect them from the casualties that beset them now, and secure for them

cheapness, speed, and certainty of departure and arrival. If this is done, by the employment of steam-ships of proper construction, all the miseries of the long voyage, with its sure concomitants,—disease and death; and all the waste of time and means, waiting for the sailing of merchant ships on this side of the Atlantic, and for friends and conveyances on the other, would be obviated by this simple provision. A bounty to, half the extent of that now given for carrying the mails would provide the ocean-omnibuses for the poor. Or, if Government, by direct aid to public works, or by the interposition of Imperial credit, to enable the colonies to construct them, were it to create a labour market, and open lands for settlement along the railway line of 635 miles, these ships might be provided by private enterprise.

By reference to the published Report of the Commissioners for 1847, your Lordship will perceive that in that year of famine and disease, 17,445 British subjects died on the passage to Canada and New Brunswick, in quarantine, or in the hospitals, to say nothing of those who perished by the contagion which was diffused in the provincial cities and settlements. An equal number, there is too much reason to apprehend, died on the passage to or in the United States. In ordinary seasons, the mortality will of course be much less, and in all may be diminished by the more stringent provisions since enforced by Parliament. But bad harvests, commercial depressions, with their inevitable tendency to drive off large portions of a dense population, should be anticipated; and no regulation can protect large masses of emigrants, thrown into sea-ports, from delay, fraud, cupidity, and misdirection. No previous care can prevent disease from breaking out in crowded ships, that are forty or fifty days at sea, to say nothing of the perils of collision and shipwreck.

Mark the effects produced upon the poorer classes of this country. Emigration is not to them what it might be made,—a cheerful excursion in search of land, employment, fortune. It is a forlorn hope, in which a very large portion perish, in years of famine and distress, and very considerable numbers in ordinary seasons, even with the best regulations that Parliament can provide.

The remedy for all this—simple, sure, and not very expensive—is the ocean omnibus.

Steam-ships may be constructed to carry at least 1000 passengers, with quite as much comfort as is now secured in a first-rate railway carriage, and with space enough for all the luggage besides. If these vessels left London, Southampton, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, Cork, or Galway, alternately, or at there might be demand for them, on certain appointed days, emigrants would know where and when to embark, and would be secured from the consequences of delay, fraud, and misdiscretion.

The Commissioners report, that last year the sum spent in “the cost of extra provi-

sions and conveyance to the ports of embarkation, and maintenance there, amounted to £340,000." The cost of reaching the sea-ports cannot be economized, but the extra provisions and maintenance at the ports of embarkation would be materially reduced. But how much more would be saved? The average sailing passage from London to Quebec is 52 days; from Liverpool 45; from London to New York, 43; from Liverpool, 35. The average passage, by steam, from any of the ports I have named, need not exceed—to Nova Scotia 10, to New Brunswick and Canada, 12 days; but assuming 43 days as the average sailing passage from England to America, and 13 to be the average by steam, let us see what the saving would be to the poor, even taking the present amount of emigration as a basis.

299,493 emigrants left Great Britain and Ireland for America, in 1849. A very great proportion of the Irish had a journey and a voyage to make to some English sea-port, before they embarked upon the Atlantic. But pass that over, and multiplying the number of emigrants by thirty, and we have the number of days that would have been saved to these poor people, if they had been carried out by steam. It is clear that they wasted 8,984,940 days at sea, in, to them, the most precious year of life, and the most valuable part of that year, which, estimating their labour at 1s. a-day in the countries to which they were repairing, would amount to £449,247.

The employment of ocean steam-ships for the poor would save all this, and it would put an end to ship-fever, disease and death. The Government of England expended in Canada and New Brunswick alone, in 1847, in nursing the sick and burying the dead, £124,762 st'g. The ocean omnibus, whether established by Government or by a private association, would save all this in future. Restrictive colonial laws would disappear; and from the moment that there was a certainty that emigrants would arrive in health, however poor, the colonists would prepare their lands and open their arms to receive them.

The saving of expense and time on our side of the Atlantic would also be immense. These ships could run down the southern shores of the maritime provinces, and land emigrants wherever they were required, from Sydney to St. Andrews; passing through the Gut of Canso, they could supply all the northern coasts, including Prince Edward Island. They could go direct to the St. Lawrence, landing the people wherever they were wanted, from Gaspé to Quebec.

Knowing exactly when to expect these vessels, our people would send to England, Ireland, and Scotland for their friends, and be ready with their boats and waggons to convey them off, without cost or delay, the moment they arrived.

We should thus have a healthy, almost self-sustaining British emigration, to the full ex-

tent of the existing demand for labour, even if no public works were commenced.

But much would soon be done, still without costing the British Government a pound, to extend the labour market. The moment that the arrival of healthy emigrants, at convenient points, and early in the season, could be counted upon with certainty, the Provincial Governments would lay off and prepare their lands for settlement, advertising them in all the British and Irish sea-ports. They would empower the deputy surveyors in each county to act as emigrant agents, and locate the people. They would call upon the county magistracy to prepare, at the autumn or winter sessions, returns, showing the number and description of emigrants required by each county in the following spring, with the number of boys and girls that they were prepared to take charge of and bind out as apprentices.

Proprietors of large unimproved tracts would soon, by similar exertion and kindred agencies, prepare them for occupation.

All this may be done by the employment of steam-ships for the poor; and they, I am confident, might be drawn into the public service without any cost to the country. If it be objected that to so employ them would diminish the demand for sailing-vessels, I answer no; but, on the contrary, there would be an annually increasing demand for British and Colonial tonnage, to carry on the commerce and reciprocal exchanges that this healthy immigration would create.

But, my Lord, I am anxious to see these cheap steamers on another account: that they may bring English, Irish, and Scotch men and their descendants, from time to time, back to the land of their fathers, to tread the scenes which history hallows, or revive the recollections of early life, to contemplate the modern triumphs and glories of England, and contrast them even with those of the proud Republic beside us. This ennobling pleasure cannot be indulged in now, but at a cost which debars from its enjoyment the great body of the Queen's Colonial subjects.

Reduce the passage to 10 days, and the cost to £5., and thousands would come over here every summer, to return with their hearts warmed towards their British brethren, to teach their children to understand the policy of England, and to reverence her institutions.

So far, my Lord, you will perceive that I have suggested nothing which would involve Her Majesty's Government in heavy expense; on the contrary, I believe that even the cost of emigrant steamers would be more than made up, either by a reduction of expense in the naval service, retrenchment of the cost of lazarettoes and quarantine, or by the relief which a healthy system of emigration would at once give to some, if not all the branches of the public service which now cost 11,000,000 sterling. It would require but a slight calculation to show that the planting of half a million of British subjects in the North American provinces, where the duty on British manu-

factures ranges from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and in the United States, where it ranges from 15 to 100 per cent. would amount to more than the whole sum wanted to establish these steamers.

To illustrate this, I have made a selection from the United States' Tariff, of certain articles in which British manufacturers feel a deep interest. It embraces 110 articles and branches of manufacture, upon which the duties in Nova Scotia, with very few exceptions, do not range higher than $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

British Manufactures which pay 15 per cent. in the United States.

Tow, hemp or flax, manufactured.
Steel in bars, cast or shear.
Tin plates, tin foil, tin in sheets.
Zinc or spelter.

That pay 20 per cent.

Acids of every description.
Articles used in tanning or dyeing.
Blankets.
Blank books, bound or unbound.
Caps, gloves, leggings, mits, socks, stockings, wove shirts and drawers.
Chocolate.
Copperas and vitriol.
Copper rods, bolts, nails and spikes, copper bottoms, copper in sheets or plates,
Dressed furs.
Glue.
Gunpowder.
Hats, or hat bodies of wool.
Oils used in painting.
Lampblack.
Leather.
Lead in pigs, bars, or sheets; lead in pipes, and leaden shot.
Linen of all kinds.
Litharge.
Malt.
Manufactures of flax.
Manufactures of hemp.
Marble, unmanufactured.
Mineral and bituminous substances.
Medicinal drugs.
Metals, unmanufactured.
Musical instruments of all kinds.
Needles of all kinds.
Paints, dry or ground.
Paper-hangings.
Tiles and bricks.
Periodicals.
Putty.
Quills.
Saddlery.
Salts.
Sheathing-paper.
Skins, tanned and dressed.
Spermaceti candles and tapers.
Steel.
Stereo-type-plates, type-metal, types.
Tallow caudles.
Thread laces.
Velvet.
White and red lead.
Window glass of all kinds.

That pay 23 per cent.

Buttons and button moulds of all kinds,
Baizes, flannels, floor-cloths.
Cables and cordage.
Cotton laces, insertings, and braids.
Floss-silks.
All manufactures of hair of coarse descriptions.
Cotton Manufactures.
Manufactures of mohair.
Silk manufactures.
Manufactures of worsted.
Mats and matting.
Slates.
Woollen and worsted yarn.

That pay 30 per cent.

Ale, beer, and porter.
Manufactures of Argentine or German silver.
Articles worn by men, women, or children, of whatever material composed, made up in whole or in part by hand.

Perfumes.
Manufactures of grass, straw, or palm-leaf.
Beads.
Hair manufactures of finer descriptions.
India Rubber Manufactures.
Fur caps, hats, muffs, tippets.
Carpets, carpetting, hearth-rugs.
Carriages, and parts of carriages.
Cheese.
Clothing of every description.
Coach and harness furniture.
Coal and Coke.
Combs.
Confectionary.
Corks.
Cutlery of all kinds.
Jewellery. Toys.
Earthen, china, and stone-ware.
Manufactures of gold.
Artificial feathers and flowers.
Umbrella Materials.
Cabinet and household furniture,
Stained glass.
Glass and porcelain manufactures.
Iron in bars or blooms, or other forms.
Iron-castings.
Japanned wares.
Manufactures of cotton, linen, silk, wool, or worsted, if embroidered.
Marble manufactured.
Manufactures of paper, or papier-maché.
Manufactures of wood.
Muskets, rifles, and other fire-arms.
Ochres.
Oil-cloths.
Plated and gilt-ware of all kinds.
Playing-cards
Soap.

That pay 40 per cent.

Cut-glass.
Manufactures of expensive woods.
Tobacco manufactures.
Alabaster and spar ornaments.
Sweetmeats.
Preserved meats, fish, and fruits.

That pay 100 per cent.

Brandy, whiskey, and other spirits distilled from grain.

A similar list might be made of East Indian and British Colonial staples and productions, with the endless variety of small manufactures which they stimulate, and to which these high duties apply.

I pass now to the only remaining topic, the formation of Public Works, of approved utility, as a means of strengthening the empire,—developing the resources of the provinces,—and as an aid to more rapid and systematic Colonization.

Having, my Lord, in my former letter, entered largely upon this branch of the general subject, I need not repeat what that paper contains. Every mail brings fresh evidences of the feverish longing and intense anxiety with which all classes in the provinces look forward to the establishment of those great lines of inter-colonial and continental communication, which are not only to bind us together, and secure to the British Provinces great commercial advantages, but which would, with cheap steamboats, reduce the Atlantic to a British Channel, and continue the Strand in a few years to Lake Huron, and ultimately perhaps even in our own time, so rapidly does the world advance, to the Pacific Ocean.

The first 130 miles of this communication Nova Scotia will make, and amply secure the British Government from loss, should the advantage of its credit be given. We will do more—we will prepare our lands, collect returns, appoint an agent in each county, and repeal our taxes on emigrants; offering, on the best terms, a home to all who choose to come among us. If Her Majesty's Government have no objections to the employment of such portions of the troops as are not required to do garrison-duty, we will give them a fair addition to their pay, or land along the line, to which in war their discipline would be a defence; thus saving to the British Government the expense of bringing these veterans back to England.

The ability of Nova Scotia to fulfil any obligations she may incur to the Imperial Government, may be estimated by reference to her past progress and present financial condition.

Montgomery Martin, in his late work, estimates the value of the province, in moveable and immoveable property, at 20,700,000*l.*—Without counting wild lands and property upon which labour has not been expended, we rate it at 15,000,000*l.* This has been created in a century, by the industry of a few thousands of emigrants and loyalists, and their descendants. To the amount of shipping, as evidence of a prosperous commerce, I have already referred.

Within the twenty years from 1826, to 1846 the population more than doubled, the tonnage rising, in the last ten years of this period, from 96,996 to 141,043 tons.

The exports rose in the twenty years from 267,277*l.* to 831,071*l.*

The revenue of Nova Scotia is chiefly raised from imports, the royalty on the mines, and

the sale of Crown lands. There is no property-tax, or assessed taxes, except poor and county rates raised by local assessments.

Her tariff is the lowest in North America. Her *ad valorem* duty on British goods is 6½ per cent., that of Canada 12½.

All the liabilities of the province amounted on the 31st December, 1849, to 105,643*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* The Receiver-General writes me that there has been an increase of the revenue during the past year, of 15,000*l.*, which will reduce the liabilities to 90,643*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* No part of this debt is due out of the province.—Province notes, which circulate and are sustained by the demand for them to pay duties, represent 59,864*l.* of the whole, which bears no interest. Of the balance, 40,000*l.* is due to depositors in the Savings Bank, who receive 4 per cent. The holders of Stock certificates, covering the remainder, receive 5 per cent.

The public property held by the Government in the city of Halifax alone, would pay the whole debt, which could be extinguished by applying the surplus revenue to that object for two years.

The income from all sources fluctuates between 90,000*l.* and 110,000*l.* The permanent charges on this revenue secured to Her Majesty by the Civil List Bill, are 7,500*l.* sterling.—The balance is expended in maintaining other branches of the Civil Government, in opening and repairing roads, and promoting education.

We should make the interest of the loan we now require a first charge on this surplus, in the event of the railroad not yielding tolls sufficient, which, judging by the experience of our neighbours, we do not apprehend.

This surplus must steadily increase, because, while population and revenue will probably double within the next twenty years, as it has done, almost without emigration or railroads, during the past twenty, the expenses of the Civil Government will be but very slightly augmented,

The revenue could be, and if necessary would be, promptly increased, by raising the *ad valorem* duty, re-adjusting specific duties, or if even that were necessary to sustain our credit with the mother-country, by a resort to a legacy, income, or property-tax.

The Government of Nova Scotia (exclusive of lands in Cape Breton) still retains 3,932,388 acres of ungranted Crown lands. These, if required, could also be pledged, or the net amount of sales of lands along the line could be paid over from time to time in liquidation of the loan.

The whole amount required is 800,000*l.*—The city of Halifax being pledged to the Provincial Government to pay the interest on 100,000*l.*, the whole amount that would therefore be chargeable on all sources of provincial revenue, the tolls on the railroad included, would be 24,500*l.*

Although having no authority to speak for the other Colonies, I may observe, the province of New Brunswick, which lies between Nova Scotia and Canada, has in addition to her ordinary sources of revenue, 11,

600,000 of acres of ungranted lands. She might pledge to her Majesty's Government the proceeds of as many millions of acres of these lands, along the lines to be opened, as might be necessary, in addition to the pledge of her public funds to secure this country from loss. The troops might be employed, and settled in this province also. The lands pledged could be sold to emigrants,—the British mails and soldiers would be transported at fair prices, and the amounts might be carried to the credit of the loans. I believe that New Brunswick could, if moderately aided, ultimately make her great lines, absorb and provide farms for millions of emigrants,—increasing the home market for British goods by the annual amount of their consumption,—and, in a very few years, pay any loan she may require to contract, without costing England a farthing. The resources of Canada are well known to your Lordship.

Her interest in these great works cannot be exaggerated, and must be greatly enhanced by the approaching removal of the seat of Government to Quebec.—They would bring her productions to the seaboard at all seasons of the year; connect her by lines of communication with all the other provinces, and with the mother-country; preparing the way for a great industrial, if not a political union, of which the citadel of Quebec would ultimately form the centre. That her Government would second any policy by which this might be accomplished, there is no reason to doubt.

My Lord, there is one topic of extreme delicacy, perhaps, and yet, so far as my own province is concerned, I will venture to touch it without hesitation. Some of the British Colonies aspire to obtain notoriety, just now, by spurning from their bosoms the criminals of England, without modestly remembering that some of them, at least, owe their original prosperity to such emigrants, and that thousands are annually tempted or driven into crime in this country, by the absence of employment, and by the resistless pressure which the slightest derangement in this highly artificial state of society creates. I believe that among the 43,000 persons convicted in this country in 1848, some thousands were more to be pitied than condemned. If such persons, organized and disciplined, were employed upon the public works of North America, as has been suggested, I believe that they would ultimately be restored to society, and that the government would be immediately relieved from serious embarrassment. I do not shrink from the responsibility of making the suggestion, nor will I shrink from my share of the responsibility of carrying it out. The people I represent, my Lord, are generally a religious people; who know that our Saviour had none of the sensitiveness manifested at the Cape. I feel some virtue in the poor woman that all the world condemned; and did not consider at least one of the malefactors unworthy of Heaven who were hung beside him.

It has been suggested, that convicts might be advantageously employed on a large scale, in North America, for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific.—I should like to see the experiment tried upon a small scale first; and do not believe that if a judicious selection were made of those whose offences were superinduced by poverty and extreme distress, or of those whose conduct in some probationary course of punishment had been exemplary, the North American Colonies would object to such a trial, if an appropriate choice were made of some locality along a great line in which they feel an interest, and if the men employed were properly officered and controlled by stringent regulations. A corps of 500 might be formed, subject to military organization and discipline, with the usual prospect of promotion to subordinate commands if they behaved well. Summary trial and punishment should be equally certain if they misbehaved; solitary confinement in the Colonial Penitentiaries would be an appropriate punishment if they deserted or committed any new offence. If a portion of comparatively wilderness country were selected for the experiment, the men might have six pence per day carried to their credit from colonial funds, while they laboured, to accumulate till it was sufficient to purchase a tract of land upon the line, with seed and implements to enable them to get in a first crop when the period of service had expired.

This experiment would, I believe, succeed. It would cost the Imperial Government nothing more than it

now costs to maintain the people elsewhere. The Colony where they were employed would get the difference between sixpence per day and the ordinary rate of wages to compensate for any risk it might run, and would besides ultimately secure customers for wild lands, and many useful settlers.

In conclusion, my Lord, permit me to crave your indulgence for the length of this communication, which would be an unpardonable intrusion upon your Lordship's time if the topics to be discussed were less numerous and important.

I have, etc.

(Signed) JOSEPH HOWE.

The Right Hon. Earl Grey.
etc. etc. etc.

Hon. Joseph Howe to Earl Grey.

5, Sloane Street, 13th, February, 1851.

MY LORD—

Adverting to the point raised by Your Lordship yesterday, I hasten to furnish an explanation, which I trust may be satisfactory.

Assuming that Nova Scotia makes, with the guarantee of the British Government, a Rail Road across her Territory, and that an extension through the other Provinces for national or inter-colonial objects becomes immediately or remotely desirable, either by the Governments of Canada or New Brunswick, by the British Government, or by any Colonial or British Company under their patronage, the question is, would Nova Scotia claim to retain the revenues of that which might be the most profitable part of a long line?

Nova Scotia, whatever her geographical advantages may be, desires to make them subservient to common Imperial and Provincial interests, and will be prepared to share the revenues of her Railroad, as she does those of her Telegraph, upon equitable principles, with the other Provinces, or with Companies by which they may be represented.

The principle applied to the Telegraph is very simple, and works satisfactorily to all States and Companies extending between Halifax and New York. The tolls for messages which originate and end within Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Maine, for instance, are retained by those who send them, but the tolls for through messages, which pass over a common line, are shared by mileage, and the common account is checked and the balances paid over every week.

I think I may go even further and say, that should our portion of the line pay, from excess of local traffic, and that through New Brunswick be less profitable, Nova Scotia would not only lead to her Sister Province any excess which might accrue, but would take her debentures up and give her the aid of her public revenues rather than that even a temporary demand should be made upon the Imperial Treasury.

I have &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH HOWE.

The Right Hon. EARL GREY, &c. &c. &c.

B. Hawes, Esq., to Hon. Jos. Howe.

Downing Street, March 10, 1851.

SIR,—I am directed by Earl Grey to inform you, that he is at length enabled to communicate to you the decision of her Majesty's Government on the application for assistance towards the construction of the projected railway through Nova Scotia, contained in your letters of the 25th of November and 16th of January last.

You are already aware, from the repeated conversations which you have had with Lord Grey, of the strong sense entertained by his Lordship and colleagues, of the extreme importance, not only to the colonies directly interested, but to the empire at large, of providing for the construction of a railway by which a line of communication may be established on British territory between the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, and that various plans which have been suggested for the accomplishment of this object have undergone the most attentive consideration.

It appears from Sir John Harvey's Dispatch of August 29th, 1850, as well as from your letters and the verbal communications you have made to Lord Grey, that the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia, fully relying on the concurrence of the Legislature, is desirous of undertaking the construction of that part of the projected line which would pass through that province, and proposes to obtain for that purpose a loan of £300,000, which is the estimated expense of the work. The assistance which Lord Grey understands you to apply for on behalf of the province, is, that the payment of the interest of a loan to this amount should be guaranteed by the Imperial Parliament, the effect of which would be that the money might be raised on terms much more favourable than would be otherwise required by the lenders.

I am directed to inform you that Her Majesty's Government are prepared to recommend to Parliament that this guarantee should be granted, or that the money required should be advanced from the British Treasury, on the conditions which I will now proceed to state.

In the first place, as Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that they would not be justified in asking Parliament to allow the credit of this country to be pledged for any object not of great importance to the British Empire as a whole (and they do not consider that the projected Railway would answer this description, unless it should establish a line of communication between the three British Provinces) it must be distinctly understood that the work is not to be commenced, nor is any part of the loan, for the interest on which the British Treasury is to be responsible, to be raised, until arrangements are made with the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick, by which the construction of a line of railway passing wholly through British territory, from Halifax to Que-

bec or Montreal, shall be provided for to the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government.

In order that such arrangements may be made Her Majesty's Government, will undertake to recommend to Parliament that the like assistance shall be rendered to these Provinces as to Nova Scotia, in obtaining loans for the construction of their respective portions of the work. If it should appear that by leaving each Province to make that part of the line passing through its own territory, the proportion of the whole cost of the work which would fall upon any one Province, would exceed its proportion of the advantage to be gained by it, then the question is to remain open for future consideration, whether some contribution should not be made by the other Provinces towards that part of the line; but it is to be clearly understood that the whole cost of the line is to be provided for by loans raised by the Provinces in such proportions as may be agreed upon, with the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament.

The manner in which the profits to be derived from the Railway when completed are to be divided between the Provinces will also remain for future consideration.

You will observe that I have stated that the line is to pass entirely through British territory; but Her Majesty's Government do not require that the line shall necessarily be that recommended by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson.

If the opinion which is entertained by many persons well qualified to form a judgment, is correct, that a shorter and better line may be found through New Brunswick, it will of course be preferred, and there will be sufficient time for determining this question while the earlier part of the line is in progress. It is also to be understood that Her Majesty's Government will by no means object to its forming part of the plan which may be determined upon, that it should include a provision for establishing a communication between the projected railway and the railways of the United States. Any deviation from the line recommended by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson, must, however, be subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

It will further be required that the several Provincial Legislatures should pass laws making the loans which they are to raise a first charge upon the Provincial Revenue, after any existing debts and payments on account of the Civil Lists settled on Her Majesty by laws now in force; and also that permanent taxes shall be imposed (or taxes to continue in force till the debt shall be extinguished) sufficient to provide for the payment of the interest and sinking fund of the loans proposed to be raised after discharging the above prior claims. It will further be necessary that the expenditure of the money raised under the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament shall take place under the superintendence of Commissioners appoin-

ted by Her Majesty's Government, and armed with sufficient power to secure the due application of the funds so raised to their intended object. The Commissioners so appointed are not however to interfere with the arrangements of the Provincial Governments, except for the above purpose.

The right of sending troops, stores, and mails, along the line at reasonable rates, must likewise be secured.

If on the part of the Government of Nova Scotia you should express your concurrence in the above proposals, Lord Grey will immediately direct the Governor General of the British North American Provinces to communicate with the Lieutenant Governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, who will also be directed to bring the subject under the consideration of their respective Executive Councils, in order that if they should be prepared to join in carrying the undertaking into effect on the terms proposed, the details of the arrangement between the Provinces may be settled, and the sanction of the Legislature obtained for the plan, so that it may with as little delay as possible be submitted for the approval of Parliament.

Before, however, the proposed measure can be so submitted to Parliament, it is proper to observe that there are some other questions affecting the pecuniary relations between the mother country and the colonies which will require to be considered, but as these questions have little, if any, reference to Nova Scotia, it is not necessary that they should be further adverted to in this letter.

I am directed to add that Lord Grey thinks it unnecessary that any measure should be taken by Her Majesty's Government to encourage the establishment of steam vessels for the accommodation of emigrants of the humbler class, which is one of the subjects to which you have called his attention.

If there should be a demand for such vessels, Lord Grey has no doubt that they will speedily be supplied by private enterprise; indeed he has been informed that ships of large size intended for the conveyance of emigrants, and furnished with auxiliary steam power, are already building both in this country and in America, and if by undertaking the projected railway a demand for labor is created in the British Provinces and a large extent of fertile land is opened for the occupation of settlers, these circumstances cannot fail to lead to an extension and improvement of the means now afforded for the conveyance of emigrants to these Provinces.

Lastly; with reference to the suggestion contained in your letter, that convicts might be employed in the construction of the Railway, I am to inform you that though Her Majesty's Government entertain no doubt that the expense of the work to the provinces might thus be greatly reduced, while at the same time by judicious regulations all risk of serious inconvenience might be guarded against, they would

not be disposed to take any step with a view to the adoption of this suggestion, unless on a distinct application from the Colonial Legislature; but if such an application should be made, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to make the necessary arrangements for the employment of a moderate number of convicts on the work, without any charge for their custody and subsistence to the Province which may have applied for them.

I am &c.

(Signed) B. HAWES.

Hon. Jos. Howe to B. Hawes, Esq.

5 Sloane Street, March 12th, 1851.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 10th March, conveying to me by direction of Earl Grey, the decision of Her Majesty's Government on the questions raised in my letters of the 25th November and 16th January.

I beg you to assure his Lordship of the satisfaction with which I have read that communication, and of the sincerity of the belief which I entertain that the Governments of the North American Provinces will cheerfully, and to the full extent of their means, exert themselves to secure upon the terms proposed, the completion of the great national highway, for the construction of which Her Majesty's Government are prepared to propose to Parliament to advance the funds, or pledge the National credit.

Should anything occur to delay a general arrangement, (which I do not apprehend,) beyond the period when Nova Scotia may be prepared to execute her part of the line, for local or other purposes, it will be time enough then to submit whether that portion of the work which will run through her territory should not be commenced, either with or without the aid of Her Majesty's Government.

As the rapid sale and settlement of the waste lands of the three provinces will now become very desirable, in order that their annual revenues may be increased, and the country on both sides of the Railroad settled as the work proceeds, I hope to be able, in a few days, to submit a plan by which these objects may be attained by an organized association, acting under the countenance of the Imperial and Colonial Government, but without any aid from their public resources. I have, &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH HOWE.

B. HAWES, Esquire.

Hon. Jos. Howe to W. H. Keating, Esq.

5 Sloane Street, London,
13th March, 1851.

SIR,—I had the honor to report to you on the 14th of February.

On the evening of that day a Debate occurred in the House of Lords, which you will find in the Newspapers I now enclose. In that House there appeared to be but one opinion as to the importance of the North

American Provinces and upon the soundness of the Policy of aiding them to complete their Public Works. The personal references to myself will convey to His Excellency the best evidence that I can offer as to the mode in which my Public Duties have been discharged.

Prior to the occurrence of that Debate I had been honored with two very interesting interviews by Lord Stanley.

On the 13th I had addressed to Earl Grey the letter a copy of which is enclosed.

On the 21st of February, I was honored by Earl Grey with the perusal of the draft of a communication, which His Lordship proposed to address to me, and by an appointment for the following day, to adjust any points which might be raised by an examination of that draft. On the 22nd of February, the Cabinet resigned, and no further progress could be made in the negotiation until their acceptance of the Seals again on the 3rd of March.

I have now the honor to enclose a copy of a letter addressed to me on the 10th instant, by Mr. Hawes, in which the Lieutenant Governor will be gratified to perceive that my mission has resulted in the determination of Her Majesty's Government to propose to Parliament to advance or guarantee the funds which may be required by the three North American Provinces, to make a Railroad from Halifax to Quebec or Montreal, including a line of connection across New Brunswick, with the Railroad Lines of the United States.

I have reason to believe, that, if the pressure of public business will permit, copies of this letter will be transmitted to His Excellency the Governor General, and to the Lieutenant Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by this Mail.

You will perceive that all our great Lines are to be provided for, the provinces through which they pass pledging their revenues to the Imperial Government, which will advance or guarantee the funds required at the lowest rate of interest. This cannot be higher than 4, and will probably not exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. No American or Colonial Company seeking funds in the Money Market here, could obtain even a moderate amount at less than 6 per cent. I could make contracts for completing our own Line, in sections of 50 miles, paying the parties in our Provincial Debentures at 5 per cent, but, from all the information I can gather, even the Provincial Government could not depend on obtaining any large amount of funds at a less rate of interest than what Canada pays for the last loan effected here, which is 6 per cent.

The value to us, then, of the Imperial Guarantee, cannot even be over estimated.

You will perceive that Her Majesty's Government leaves the Provincial Governments free to select a shorter and more profitable line than that chosen by Major Robinson, if one can be found.

As regards construction and management, we are not to be unduly controlled; the Im-

perial Commission being limited to such necessary jurisdiction as may prevent the appropriation of the funds raised to objects not contemplated by Parliament.

You will also observe that the Provincial Governments are left free to make the most they can of the lands through which the Railroads are to pass. My present impression is that, by making a judicious use of these, Colonization may be carried on extensively in connection with the Railroads, so that as many people may be added to the population of each Province as will swell its annual consumption and revenue beyond the charges which may be assumed for the construction of the lines. If this can be done, and I believe it may, we may strengthen the Provinces, and permanently advance and improve them, adding to their wealth and population, flanking the Railway lines with thousands of industrious people—and giving the Provinces, in a few years, an elevation which we are all anxious that they should attain.

To carry out this policy there must be mutual co-operation between men of influence here, and in the Provinces, acting with the general concurrence of the Imperial and Colonial Governments.

The ground has, I trust, been prepared for such organization—and I shall spend the rest of the month in drawing together those interests and influences on which the Northern Provinces may most securely rely to aid them in filling up their waste lands, and completing their Public improvements.

My present intention is to leave England by the Boat of the 5th April, and I cannot anticipate that anything will occur to occasion further delay.

I regret that it has not been possible to bring these matters into a shape to be passed upon by the Legislature during the present Session—but, on reflection, it will perhaps appear to His Excellency better that questions of such deep importance should be gravely propounded to the country for its deliberate decision, than that they should have been hurried through, or hastily rejected in the last Session of an expiring Parliament.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

W. H. Keating Esq.,

Deputy Provincial Secretary.

Earl Grey to Sir John Harvey.

Downing Street, 14th March, 1851.

SIR—I have received your despatch, No. 204, of the 25th of October last, informing me that the members of your Executive Council had deputed one of their own body to repair to this country for the purpose of representing to Her Majesty's Government the views generally entertained in Nova Scotia on the subject of the projected Halifax and Quebec Railway; and I have now the honor to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a despatch which I

have this day addressed to the Governor General of British North America, in the enclosures to which you will find a Letter which has been written by my direction to Mr. Howe, containing a full explanation of the views of Her Majesty's Government as to the mode by which it is to be hoped the funds necessary for the proposed undertaking may be raised.

Referring you to that despatch for general information, I have only to add that it will be proper that you should at once place yourself in communication with the Governor General on this very important subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

GREY.

Lieut. Governor Sir JOHN HARVEY, K. C. B.,
Nova Scotia.

Earl Grey to Lord Elgin.

Downing Street, March 14th, 1851.

MY LORD—

From the correspondence which I have already had with your Lordship on the subject of the projected railroad from Halifax to Quebec, you are well aware that although Her Majesty's Government have not hitherto been enabled to take any steps towards the execution of that work, it is an undertaking which they have long earnestly desired to see accomplished, as they believe it to be one calculated very greatly to advance the commercial and political interests both of the British Provinces in North America and of the mother country. It is, therefore, with great satisfaction that I have now to acquaint your Lordship that I have reason to hope that the time is at length come when this great national enterprise may be undertaken with advantage, if there still exists (as I am assured there does) as strong a desire to promote it, on the part of the inhabitants of Canada and New Brunswick, as they formerly expressed, and as the people of Nova Scotia have recently manifested.

2. I inclose for your Lordship's information a copy of a despatch addressed to me in the course of the last autumn by Sir John Harvey, introducing to me Mr. Howe, a member of the Government of Nova Scotia, and also copies of two letters I have received from that gentleman, and of the answer which has by my direction, been returned to him. Your Lordship will perceive from these papers, that the proposals made by Mr. Howe, on behalf of the Province of Nova Scotia, and to which Her Majesty's Government have thought it their duty so far to accede as to undertake on certain conditions, to recommend it, for the sanction of Parliament, is to the effect that the credit of this country should be employed to enable the Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to raise upon advantageous terms the funds necessary for the construction of the proposed railway, just as Canada has already been enabled by simi-

lar assistance, to construct the canals by which she has lately completed the most extensive and perfect system of inland navigation which exists in the world. Although Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that great caution ought to be observed in pledging the credit of the British Treasury for aid of loans raised by the Colonies, they regard the work now in contemplation as being (like the Saint Lawrence Canals) of so much importance to the whole empire, as to justify them in recommending to Parliament that some assistance should be given towards its construction, nor is there any mode of affording such assistance which has been hitherto suggested, which appears on the whole so little burthensome to the mother-country, and at the same time of so much real service to the Colonies, as that which is now proposed.

3. Incoming to the decision that Parliament should be invited to give this support to the projected railway, Her Majesty's Government have not failed to bear in mind that by enabling the North American Provinces to open this great line of communication, it may fairly be assumed that a powerful stimulus will be given to their advance in wealth and population, and that the increase in their resources will render it possible for them to relieve the mother country sooner, and more completely than would otherwise be practicable, from charges now borne by it on account of these colonies. In another despatch of this date, I have informed your Lordship, that in the judgment of Her Majesty's Government, the British colonies ought to be required, as they become capable of doing so, to take upon themselves not only the expenses of their Civil Government, but a portion at all events of those incurred for their protection; and I have pointed out to you, that the British North American Provinces, and especially Canada, have now reached such a stage in their progress that the charges for which Parliament is called upon to provide on their account, ought to be rapidly diminished. The construction of the proposed railway would greatly contribute to promote this important object. By opening new districts for settlement, and by the demand for labor which would be created during the progress of the work, the projected railway cannot fail to increase the wealth and population of these Provinces, while by affording a rapid and easy communication between them, it will enable them to afford to each other far greater support and assistance than they now can, in any difficulty or danger to which they may be exposed.

4. Your Lordship will not fail to observe from the letter which has been addressed to Mr. Howe, that the assistance which it is proposed to grant to the Provinces towards the construction of the proposed railway, is to be contingent on provision being made for opening a complete line of communication from Halifax to Quebec or Montreal. It is necessary, therefore, to ascertain whether Canada and

New Brunswick are ready to join with Nova Scotia in raising the capital required for the work in the manner proposed, and if so, in what proportion each Province is to become responsible for the expense incurred. The question whether it will be advisable for these two Provinces to join in the construction of the projected railway, if they should be enabled, by the assistance of Parliament, to raise the required capital, at a low rate of interest, is one for the consideration of their respective Legislatures; but so far as I have the means of forming a judgment upon the subject, I should anticipate that their decision would be in favor of doing so. I infer that this is probable, not less from what I have learnt of the actual state of public opinion on this subject in the Provinces, than from the view which I take of their interest in the work.

Though I can believe that there would be much room for doubting whether the railway would pay as a mercantile speculation to a company looking to traffic only for its remuneration, the case is very different when it is regarded as a public undertaking. When viewed in this light, the various indirect advantages which cannot fail to arise to the Provinces from possessing such improved means of communication, must be considered, as well as the very great additional value which would be conferred on a vast extent of public lands which are now comparatively worthless. This is a source of profit from which no advantage can in general accrue to the constructors of railways in countries where the soil has long been appropriated by individuals; on the contrary, in these countries the purchase of land is not one of the least important items of the expense to be incurred in such undertakings; but where, as in parts of Canada and New Brunswick, a great part of the territory to be traversed by a railway is still unappropriated, and the land may be sold by the public, the increased value given to it by being thus rendered accessible, may render it advantageous to construct a railway, though the traffic is not expected to do more at first than pay the working expenses.

5. If these considerations should induce the Legislatures of the three Provinces to combine in undertaking the projected railway, the terms on which they are to co-operate with each other for that object will have to be settled; and in coming to such an arrangement various questions of great difficulty and importance will require to be considered. For instance it is probable that when the line is completed, the traffic will be far more remunerative at the two extremities than in the more central portion of it; while at the same time the expense of construction would, from the nature of the country, be precisely higher where the traffic returns would be the lowest: so that if each Province were required to pay

for the formation of the line through its own territory, and to receive the returns from the traffic through the same, it would follow, that while the expense to New Brunswick would be the greatest, its receipts would be the smallest. On the other hand, as I have just observed, one of the most important sources of profit from the construction of such a railway as that now in contemplation would arise from the sale of land of which the value would be increased by the work; and it appears from the papers before me, that New Brunswick would probably derive a greater profit from that source than the two Sister Provinces.—Whether the result upon the whole would be, that each Province, considering these various circumstances, ought to take upon itself the construction of the railway through its own territory, or whether, on the contrary, any one should be assisted by the others, is a point on which I have not the means of forming a judgment; and I would suggest to you, that the best course, with a view of arriving at some practical result, would be, that a deputation from the Executive Councils of the two Lower Provinces should proceed to the seat of Government in Canada, in order to confer with your Lordship and with your Council for the purpose of coming to some agreement upon the subject, which, after being approved by the Legislatures of the several Provinces, might be submitted for the sanction of Parliament.

6. It does not appear to me that if such a conference should be held, it need occupy any very great length of time, or that much difficulty would arise in coming to an arrangement for the construction and working of the projected railway, by which the expense of the undertaking on the one hand, and the advantages to be derived from it on the other, might be fairly apportioned between the different Provinces. Hereafter I may probably be enabled to offer some suggestions as to the manner in which this might be accomplished: but at present I have only to add, that I shall transmit copies of this despatch to Sir Edmund Head and to Sir John Harvey, with instructions to them to communicate with your Lordship without delay on the important subject to which it relates; and it will give me the highest satisfaction if the result of these communications should be the undertaking of a work, which, if completed, cannot, I believe, fail to add greatly to the prosperity of the British Provinces in North America, and at the same time to give additional strength to the ties which connect them with each other and with the British Empire.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) GREY.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine,



